THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

MARCH, 1778.

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SIR, *London, March 28.*

THE Roman provinces in Italy were ſubject to tribute, and obliged to furniſh ſoldiers for the army; but were not allowed the privileges of citizens. They had no ſuffrage or vote in the Comitia. Livius Druſus, a tribune of the people, in order to obtain the aſſiſtance of theſe Italians in carrying certain political points, promiſed to obtain for them the freedom of Rome. Having ſucceeded in his own concerns, he was called upon to perform his promiſe. He attempted it; but failed, as the ſenate and people equally diſliked the project. The Italians ſeeing no probability of their obtaining the freedom of Rome by a law, held conſultations how to procure it by force of arms; and Druſus being looked upon as the author, or at leaſt the occaſional cauſe of theſe cabals, became odious to the ſenate.

At firſt the Italians concerted their ſcheme in ſecret, and entered into a confederacy; but before they proceeded to acts of hoſtility, ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to repreſent, that they had ſerved the republic in all her wars, and had furniſhed a double portion of troops; and to demand, that ſince by their means the city had been raiſed to her height of power, they might be acknowledged as citizens. The ſenate anſwered, that if the Italians were ſenſible of their error, their ambaſſadors ſhould be received, otherwiſe not.

Upon the report of this anſwer, the confederates conſtituted a ſenate (*alias* congreſs),

congreſs), elected conſuls, generals, &c. Upon being ſeverely reprimanded and threatened by Servilius, the Italians fell upon him, and ſlew him, with many other Romans. Inſtantly, as if this had been a ſignal for a general revolt, four provinces, viz. the Marſi, Peliqui, Veſtini, Marrucini, took arms; and their example was ſoon followed by eight others. A law was made at Rome to enquire by whoſe fault it had happened that the provinces had taken arms. Appian ſays, the purport of it was, to bring into judgement all who had openly or ſecretly favoured their pretenſions.

Quære. Whether ſuch a procedure, at the beginning of the preſent controverſy, would not have been a ſalutary meaſure?

At length the ſenate made diligent preparation for war. The Latins, Sabins, Hetrurians, and Umbrians, and even ſome places in the revolted provinces, continued faithful to the republic, and furniſhed their contingents of men. Foreign nations ſent auxiliaries.

The war, which was obſtinate and bloody, 300,000 men, Romans and Provincials, being ſaid to have periſhed in it, was attended with various ſucceſs. The Romans generally prevailed in battle, and ſometimes made great ſlaughter of the Provincials, with little or no loſs.

The Italian conſul Pompedius, leaving his army, went and joined Q. Cœpio, who commanded a part of the Roman army, and urged him to fall upon the confederates. Cœpio liſtened to the propoſal; and when he had brought his army near the place where an ambuſh was laid for him, Pompedius, under pretence of reconnoitring, rode up to an eminence, and gave the appointed ſignal to the Provincials; who inſtantly ruſhed upon the Romans, made a great ſlaughter, and killed Cœpio himſelf.

L. Julius Cæſar, a Roman general, was attacked on a march by Marius Egnatius, who cut off the greater part of the Roman army, conſiſting of 30,000 foot, and 5000 horſe.

Cicero tells us, that he was preſent at a conference between Pompeius the conſul, and Vettitus a general of the Marſi, who had given the Romans a cruel defeat. It was held in ſight of the two camps, and managed with great decency. Sextus, an old acquaintance of Vettitus, aſſiſted. At firſt ſight of each other, after lamenting the unhappy circumſtance of their meeting at the head of oppoſite armies, he aſked Vettitus by what title he ſhould ſalute him; he replied, "Call me friend by inclination, enemy by neceſſity."

Cn. Pompeius, another Roman general, was forced to take refuge in Firmum, a city of Picenum.

Marius, one of the principal generals of the Romans, was attacked in his camp: he repulſed and drove the enemy into ſome vineyards; whither he did not think it adviſeable to follow them. This Marius, if we may believe Plutarch, was, during this war, extremely ſlow, irreſolute, and inactive. The enemy ſurrounded him with intrenchments, and inſulted him daily; but of this he took little notice; and at length laid down his command, under pretence of wanting health. Theſe are the very words of the hiſtorian.

The ill ſucceſs of the Romans encouraged the Umbrians and Hetrurians to think of revolting. In ſo great an extremity, the ſenate not only ordered the freemen to be enliſted into the legions, but even began to yield the point they had ſo long conteſted. Cæſar obtained the Julian law, by which the freedom of the city was given to ſuch of the Italian provinces as had not taken up arms, and to thoſe that ſhould lay them down. This law being ſent into Neutria, kept the people of that country ſteady to the intereſts of Rome. Vell. Paterculus ſays, the Romans gained great ſtrength by this ſtroke of policy; and to this, in a great meaſure, is attributed the ill ſucceſs of the confederates the enſuing campaign, notwithſtanding the great advantages they had obtained in the preceding one.

The affairs of the confederates continuing to decline, they ſent an embaſſy to Mithridates, king of Pontus, requeſting ſuccours of him. He anſwered, that he would paſs into Italy as ſoon as he had ſubdued Aſia.

In concluſion, each nation of theſe confederates obtained the freedom of Rome upon laying down their arms. And it was even granted to the Samnites and Lucanians, who ſtill continued in arms, though we hear of no more warlike exploits performed againſt them. And tho' ſome Roman hiſtorians would diſguiſe it, it ſeems plain, that the republic granted the freedom of the city, not generouſly to each nation after ſubduing it, but by treaty, and as a condition of peace.

This event took place ninety years, ant.

ant. Chriſt. when Rome, the miſtreſs of the world, was at the height of her glory. There is a faint reſemblance between the cauſes of the two revolts, (the Italian and the preſent American), but they are eſſentially different. The Roman provinces admitted the right of taxation, and of making laws to bind them in all caſes whatever, and ſtrove only to obtain a ſuffrage or vote in the *comitia*; in other words repreſentation. Our colonies never aſked for, or ſeemed willing to accept of repreſentation [36. 689.], which I ſuppoſe they might have had [38. 182.]; but denied the right of parliament to lay taxes, or even to make laws binding in any caſe. But however unlike in their origin, there is a ſtriking reſemblance in their progreſs: the leading circumſtances of which are extracted as nearly in the words of the hiſtorian, as would conſiſt with brevity; the reſpective application of them is left to the reader.

NOVANGLUS.

A recovery from ſuffocation.

In a letter from Mr Wyatt, ſurgeon, in the Minories, to Mr W. Hawes, apothecary in the Strand.

SIR, *Minories, July* 10. 1777.

ON Thurſday ſe'enight, about ſix o' clock in the evening, paſſing by accident through Bevis Marks, Duke's Place, Houndſditch, my attention was engaged by the cries of a woman, ſeemingly in the greateſt diſtreſs; and ſeveral people running to a little yard near, curioſity, if not ſympathy, led me the ſame way; and ſome byſtanders who knew my profeſſion, made way for me through the croud, until I diſcovered what was the occaſion. In a young woman's arms lay a fine female infant, eighteen months old, to all appearance dead; its countenance livid and ſwelled, the eyes half-ſhut and fixed, the mouth a little open, and no reſpiration, no pulſation of any of the arteries, of the extremities, or heart; a moſt profuſe ſweat, with that clammy feeling which is always an alarming, and frequently a fatal ſymptom.

The firſt enquiry I naturally made was, by what accident the child was in this ſtate? and was anſwered, it had been ſmothered. My ideas were, that the young woman had laid down, and, overcome with ſleep, had preſſed it to the bed. To recover it as expeditiouſly as poſſible, I cut off its cloaths, ſtripped and expoſed it entirely naked, that the external cold air ſhould conſtringe the excretory ducts, and puſhing forward the blood in the capillary and larger returning veſſels, throw it with celerity into, and ſtimulate the heart to that action which is the chief ſpring to ſet the animal machine in motion. I likewiſe ſupported the child in my hands, holding one about the lumbral *vertebræ*, and the other rather below the ſhoulders, that the head and feet were lower than the body; now and then, at about ten ſeconds diſtance of time, often repeating it. My intention by this was, that the inteſtines and ſtomach ſhould gently pull down internally the diaphragm, and, by increaſing the cavity of the thorax, make the air ruſh through the *aſperia arteria*, and fill the lobes of the lungs, cooling the blood already heated to a great degree, and, by its preſſure, force the circulation in the *vena pulmonalis* to aſſiſt in ſtimulating the heart. I then, with a piece of the woollen with which it had been rolled, began a gentle friction upon the breaſt; after ſome little time, carrying it to the extremities, and being aſſiſted with ſome ſpirits. In about ten or fifteen minutes ſymptoms of returning life appeared, viz. beating of the arteries, now and then a little ſigh, and which kept increaſing until the next morning, when it was perfectly recovered. Upon enquiry, I found, that the child had been laid on the bed to ſleep, lightly covered, when a careleſs wench came and turned it up, (the bedſtead being of that kind), and it had remained in that ſtate an hour and a half, until a perſon came to make the bed, and found it in the above inſenſible ſtate. It was the poor mother, whoſe maternal affection for the ſtate her child was in, by her cries and agonies, that engaged my attention; and a little time, and aſſurance of the infant's recovery, by degrees overcame her fears, and they both remain now well.

I beg leave to obſerve, that the mode of recovery uſed here is contrary to thoſe in a ſuffocation by water, or any other means where the circulation is originally checked externally, and I think highly improper in any but ſimilar caſes to the above. — I am, &c.

JOHN WYATT.

N. B. The parent's name is *Da Coſta*, butcher, Bevis Marks.—It is hoped, ere long, the greateſt attention will be paid to every kind of ſudden death.

Lists of War-Ships taken, destroyed, or lost, during the course of last war.

A list of French men of war taken by British men of war.

Years.	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*By whom taken.*
1755	Alcide — —	64	Dunkirk } Adm. Boscawen's fleet in N. America
	Lys — —	64	Defiance }
	Esperance —	74	Orford
1756	Arc-en-Ciel —	50	Litchfield and Norwich
	Chariot Royal —	36	Torbay
1757	* Duc d'Aquitaine —	64	Eagle and Medway
	Bien Acquis —	38	Sheerness and Chichester
	Emeraud —	28	Southampton
	Hermione —	28	Unicorn
	Escarboucle —	16	Isis
	A new sloop —	16	Phœnix privateer
1758	Foudroyant —	84	Monmouth } Adm. Osborn's fleet in the Mediterranean
	Orphie — —	64	Revenge }
	Raisonnable —	64	Dorsetshire
	Bienfaisant —	64	The boats of Adm. Boscawen's fleet at Louisburg
	Belliqueux —	64	Antelope
	Loire — —	44	St Alban's and Favorite
	Diana — —	36	Boreas } Adm. Boscawen's fleet at Louisburg
	Echo — —	28	Juno }
	Galathee —	22	Essex
	Guirlande —	22	Rochester and Renown
	Robuste, fleeti —	24	Alcide and Acteon
	Duc d'Hanover —	14	Lizard
1759	Formidable —	80	Sir Edward Hawke's fleet
	Temeraire —	74	} Adm. Boscawen off Cape Lagos
	Centaur —	74	}
	Modeste —	64	}
	* Duc de Chartres —	60	Windsor
	† Compt de St Florentine	60	Achilles
	Danœe —	40	Southampton and Melampe
	Bellone —	32	Vestal
	Arethusa —	32	Chatham, Venus, and Thames
	Hermione —	26	Dreadnought and } Adm. Cotes's fleet on the Ja-
	Hardie —	20	Seaford, &c. } maica station
	Valeur —	24	Favorite sloop
	Mignone —	20	Æolus and Isis
	Berkeley —	20	Crescent
1760	M de Belleisle —	44	}
	Blonde —	32	} Æolus, Pallas, and Brilliant
	Terpsichore —	28	}
	Syreune —	32	Boreas } Adm. Holmes's squadron on the Jamaica
	Valeur —	20	Lively } station
	Epreuve —	14	Niger
1761	Courageux —	74	Bellona
	* Bertin —	64	Hero and Venus
	St Ann —	64	Centaur and Hampshire
	Warwick —	60	Minerva
	Oriflamme —	50	Isis
	Achille —	64	Thunderer and Modeste } Part of Sir C. Saunders's
	Bouffon —	32	Thetis } fleet off Cadiz
	† Entreprenant —	44	Vengeance
	Vestale —	32	Unicorn
	Comette —	32	Bedford
	* Baleine —	32	} The boats of the fleet of Adm. Steven's squadron
	* Hermione —	28	} off Pondicherry
	Brune —	32	Venus and Juno
	† Bien Amis —	20	Trent
	Pheasant —	16	Albany sloop
	* Subtile —	16	Aquilon
	Anemoine —	14	} Mars and Orford
	Sardoine —	14	}

Years.

Years.	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*By whom taken.*
1762	Zephyr —	26	Torbay and Lyon
	Opale —	26	Phœnix
	Oiseau —	26	Brune
	† Tyger —	26	King George privateer of Briſtol
	* Boulogne —	20	Venus
	* Boutin —	20	Blonde
	Ecuriel —	10	Fame
	Crozen —	6	Venus

N. B. *Thoſe marked thus * belonged to the French Eaſt-India company. Thoſe marked thus † were merchant-ſhips armed for war.*

An abſtract of the preceding.

Ships of the line.		*Guns.*
1	of 84 guns —	84
1	— 80 —	80
4	— 74 —	296
11	— 64 —	704
3	— 60 —	180
2	— 50 —	100
—		—
Ships	22	1444
Frigates	47	1208
—		—
	69	2652

Frigates.		*Guns.*
3	of 44 —	132
1	— 40 —	40
1	— 38 —	38
2	— 36 —	72
9	— 32 —	288
5	— 28 —	140
5	— 26 —	130
2	— 24 —	48
2	— 22 —	44
7	— 20 —	140
4	— 16 —	64
4	— 14 —	56
1	— 10 —	10
1	— 6 —	6
—		—
47		1208

Spaniſh war-ſhips taken by the Britiſh, all in the year 1762.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Where taken.*
Tigre —	70	Surrendered with the city of Havanna
Reyno —	70	
Soverano —	70	
Infante —	70	
Aquilon —	70	
America —	60	
Conqueſtador —	60	
San Genaro —	60	
San Antonio —	60	
Neptuno —	70	Sunk at the entrance of the harbour of Havanna
Aſia — —	64	
Europa —	60	
Santiſſimo Trinidad	60	In the Eaſt Indies by the Panther and Argo
Ventura —	26	In the Weſt Indies by the Fowey
Vinganza —	24	In Mariel harbour by the Defiance
Marté —	18	
Thetis —	22	In the Old Streights of Bahama by the Alarm
Phœnix —	18	

An abſtract of the preceding.

Ships.		*Guns.*
6	of 70 guns — —	420
1	— 64 — —	64
6	— 60 — —	360
1	— 26 — —	26
1	— 24 — —	24
1	— 22 — —	22
2	— 18 — —	36
—		—
18		952

French

French war-ships destroyed.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*By whom destroyed.*
Prudent —	74	Burnt by the boats of the fleet at Louisburg 1758
* Thetis —	24	Drove ashore near the mouth of the river Poul Davit } Lizard
* Calypso —	16	Drove ashore near the Point de Leven } Lizard
* Heroine —	24	Drove on the rocks near the passage of Fontenay } Lizard
† ——— —	40	On the stocks at Quebec when that city surrendered
Thetee —	74	Sunk in the battle off Belleisle, Nov. 20. 1759
Superbe —	70	
Soleil Royal —	80	Burnt by Sir Edward Hawke, Nov. 21. 1759
Heros —	74	
Ocean —	80	Burnt by Adm. Boscawen near Lagos in Portugal
Redoutable —	74	
Entreprenant —	74	Burnt during the siege of Louisburg
Capricieux —	64	
Celebre —	64	
Bien Aimé —	74	Received so much damage in an engagement with Adm. Pocock in the East Indies, that the enemy were obliged to run her ashore
Apollon —	50	Sunk by the enemy at the entrance of Louisburg harbour
Fidelle —	36	
Chevre —	16	
Biche —	16	
Alcyon —	50	Sunk by the Hussar and Dolphin
‡ Les Deux Freres	22	In Gaspé bay by Com. Swanton, 1760
—— —	50	Burnt on the stocks at St Malo by the Duke of Marlborough
—— —	36	
Aquilon —	48	Run ashore and destroyed by the Antelope
Rose —	36	Run ashore and destroyed on the island of Malta by the Monmouth
Rhinoceros —	36	Taken and afterwards burnt by the Ilis
Nymphe —	36	Run ashore and destroyed on Majorca by the Hampton-court
Felicité —	32	Destroyed on the coast of Holland by the Richmond
Prince Edward —	32	Destroyed by Adm. Holmes's squadron in the West Indies
Fleur de lys —	32	
Machault —	32	Burnt in the Bay de Chaleur by the Hon. Capt. Byron
Bienfaisant —	22	
Marquis de Marloze	18	
Pomone —	28	Destroyed at Quebec by Com. Swanton
Atalante —	28	

* *As there was a violent sea when these ships took the shore, it is presumed they were totally lost.*

† *This ship was nearly finished, but was broke up for fuel to the garrison during the winter.*

‡ *An armed store-ship belonging to the King of France, sent out in the autumn* 1759, *was too late to get up the St Laurence, wintered at Gaspé, where Com. Swanton destroyed her on his way to Quebec.*

An abstract of the preceding.

Ships of the line	2	of 80 guns	*Guns* 160	Frigates	1	of 48 guns	*Guns* 48
	6	— 74 —	444		1	— 40 —	40
	1	— 70 —	70		5	— 36 —	180
	2	— 64 —	128		4	— 32 —	128
	3	— 50 —	150		2	— 28 —	56
Ships	14		952		2	— 24 —	48
Frigates	21		610		2	— 22 —	44
	35		1562		1	— 18 —	18
					3	— 16 —	48
					21		610

French war-ships left by accident.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Where left.*
Juste —	74	At the mouth of the Loire
Glorieux —	74	Wrecked in the river Vilaine
Inflexible —	64	

Ships

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Where lost.*
‖ Senecterre —	24	Wrecked in the river St Laurence, Nov. 26. or 27.
‖ Soleil Royal —	24	
‖ Duc de Fronfac	20	
Opiniatre —	64	In Conqueſt road
Greenwich —	50	
Leopard —	50	Burnt at Quebec, having the plague on board
Dragon —	64	Loſt going in to Cape François
Aigle —	50	Loſt coming through the ſtreights of Belleiſle, N. America
Junon —	40	Loſt off Mahon
Hermione —	32	Loſt coming out of Dunkirk
Zenobie —	26	Loſt on Portland
Mutine —	24	Loſt on the Dogger-bank
Minerva —	24	Loſt near Villa Franca

‖ *Armed ſtore-ſhips belonging to the King of France.*

An abſtract of the preceding.

Ships of the line	2 of 74 guns	*Guns* 148		Frigates	1 of 40 guns	*Guns* 40	
	3 — 64 —	192			1 — 32 —	32	
	3 — 50 —	150			1 — 26 —	26	
Ships	8	490			4 — 24 —	96	
Frigates	8	214			1 — 20 —	20	
	16	704			8	214	

Britiſh war-ſhips taken by the French.

Years.	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Where taken.*
1755	Blandford —	20	On her voyage to S. Carolina. Afterwards reſtored
1756	Warwick —	60	In the Weſt Indies. Retaken in 1761
1757	Greenwich —	50	Ditto
	Merlin —	14	Off Breſt. Retaken in 1758
1758	Winchelſea —	20	Convoying the S. Carolina fleet home. Retaken a few days afterwards
	Stork —	10	In the Weſt Indies
1759	Hawke cutter —	10	Off Cape Clear. Retaken in 1761
1760	Virgin —	12	Weſt Indies. Retaken the end of the ſame year
1761	Speedwell cutter —	10	In the harbour of Vigo
1762	Grammont —	18	In the harbour of St John's, Newfoundland
1763	Baſiliſk bomb —	8	Audacieux privateer

An abſtract of the preceding.

Ships of the line	1 of 60 guns	*Guns* 60		Frigates	2 of 20 guns	*Guns* 40	
	1 — 50 —	50			1 — 18 —	18	
Ships	2	110			1 — 14 —	14	
Frigates	9	122			1 — 12 —	12	
	11	232			3 — 10 —	30	
					1 — 8 —	8	
					9	122	

Britiſh war-ſhips deſtroyed by the French.

Years.	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Where deſtroyed.*
1758	Bridgewater —	20	Run aſhore at Fort St David's, to prevent their falling into the enemy's poſſeſſion
	Triton —	20	
1760	Penguin —	20	Taken off the coaſt of Portugal, and afterwards ſunk

An abſtract of the preceding.

3 ſhips of 20 guns *Guns* 60

Britiſh war-ſhips loſt by accident.

Years.	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Where loſt.*
1755	Mars —	64	Going into the harbour of Halifax
1757	Tilbury —	60	On the rocks near Louiſburg
1758	Prince George —	80	Burnt going to the Mediterranean
	Invincible —	74	Loſt near St Helen's
	Litchfield —	50	On the coaſt of Africa

Years.

Years.	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Where loſt.*
1759	Reſolution —	74	On the Tour bank on the coaſt of France
	Eſſex —	64	
	Tartar's prize —	24	Sprung a plank in the Mediterranean
	Falcon bomb —	8	Weſt Indies, in purſuit of a French privateer
1760	Ramillies —	90	On the Bolt-head
	Conqueror —	70	St Nicholas's iſland, near Plymouth
	Cumberland —	56	Near Goa in the Eaſt Indies
	Harwich —	50	On the Coliorodo's in the Weſt Indies
	Griffin —	28	On the iſland of Barbuda
	Lyme —	28	In the Categate
	Leoſtoffe —	28	River St Lawrence
	Eurus —	20	
	Mermaid —	20	Near Bahama
1761	Duke of Aquitaine	64	Foundered off Pondicherry
	Sunderland —	60	
	Newcaſtle —	50	Drove aſhore near Pondicherry
	Queenborough —	20	
	Pheaſant —	16	Foundered in the channel
1762	Raiſonnable —	64	At Martinico
	Marlborough —	70	Foundered on their voyage home from the Havanna
	Temple —	70	
	Cheſterfield —	40	Loſt in the old ſtreights of Bahama
	South-ſea-Caſtle —	40	Ditto in the harbour of Manila
	Humber —	40	Ditto on Happeſborough ſands
	Huſſar —	28	Ditto Weſt Indies
	Biddeford —	20	Ditto on Hazeborough ſands
	Scorpion —	12	Ditto Iriſh ſea
	Peregrine —	16	Foundered on her voyage to the Weſt Indies
	Savage —	8	Loſt in Torbay
1763	Epreuve —	14	Foundered on her return from S. Carolina

Abſtract of the preceding.

Ships of the line	1 of 90 guns	*Guns*	90
	1 — 80 —		80
	2 — 74 —		148
	3 — 70 —		210
	4 — 64 —		256
	2 — 60 —		120
	1 — 56 —		56
	3 — 50 —		150
Ships	17		1110
Frigates	18		410
	35		1520

Frigates, &c.	3 of 40 guns	*Guns*	120
	4 — 28 —		112
	1 — 24 —		24
	4 — 20 —		80
	2 — 16 —		32
	1 — 14 —		14
	1 — 12 —		12
	2 — 8 —		16
	18		410

Abſtracts of all the foregoing liſts.

	Ships. Taken.	Deſtroyed.	Loſt.	Total.	Guns. Taken.	Deſtroyed.	Loſt.	Total.
French, Line	22	14	8	44	1444	952	490	2886
—— Frig.	47	21	8	76	1208	610	214	2032
Spaniſh, Line	10	3	0	13	650	194	0	844
—— Frig.	5	0	0	5	108	0	0	108
Britiſh, Line	2	0	17	19	110	0	1110	1220
—— Frig.	9	3	18	30	122	60	410	592
Total	95	41	51	187	3642	1816	2224	7682

BALANCE.

Loſs.	*Sh*	*Fr*	*Guns.*
French	44	76	4918
Spaniſh	13	5	952
	57	81	5870
Britiſh	19	30	1812
Bal.	38	51	4058

The

The History of 1776, continued. [72.]

British Parliament, sess. 1775-6.

In a few days after the bill proposed by Mr Burke, "for composing the present troubles," &c. was rejected, the minister [Nov. 20.] brought in the famous prohibitory bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourse with the thirteen united colonies [37. 670, 82.]. All property of Americans whether of ships or goods, on the high seas or in harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his Majesty's ships of war; and several clauses of the bill were inserted to facilitate and to lessen the expence of the condemnation of prizes, and the recovery of prize money. This bill, besides its primary object, repealed the Boston-port, with the fishery, and restraining acts, their provisions in some instances being deemed insufficient in the present state of warfare, and their operation in others, being liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It also enabled the crown to appoint commissioners, who, besides the power of simply granting pardons to individuals, were authorised to enquire into general and particular grievances, and impowered to determine, whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that state of obedience which might entitle them to be received within the King's peace and protection, in which case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, the restrictions in the present bill were to cease in their favour.

The fire of opposition was rekindled by this bill, and it was encountered with great vigour in both houses. Is this, said they, the conciliatory proposition by which the house and the nation have been flattered? Are we to find peace in a cruel, indiscriminate, and perpetual declaration of war, against all the people in our own colonies? They said, that it was cutting off at the root all hopes of future accommodation; that it drove England and America to the fatal extremity, of absolute conquest on the one side, or absolute independency on the other; that it was as formal an act of abdication as could be penned of our government over the colonies; that it would precipitate the Americans headlong into the arms of some foreign power; that it would compell them of necessity, to convert their merchant-ships into privateers, whereby our West-India islands would be totally ruined, and our foreign commerce in general suffer greater injury than in any war in which we had ever been involved; that our present wise and happy counsels were not satisfied with the loss of America, but they must throw Africa and the West Indies after it, and hazard the security of every remaining part of the empire, in whatever quarter of the globe it was situated.

The supposed absurdity and contradictory nature of the bill were ridiculed. It begins, said they, with a declaration of war, and a confiscation of the effects of thirteen colonies, and after thirty-five of the most violent, cruel, and impolitic clauses, it concludes with some fallacious nugatory provisions, rather talking about, than proposing the attainment of peace. Can it be seriously said or expected, that offers of pardon will satisfy men who acknowledge no crime, and who are conscious, not of *doing*, but of *suffering* wrong? Or will the prospect of exemption from commercial seizures, without the redress of any grievance, disarm those who have deliberately refused all commerce until their grievances shall be redressed? It was also contended, that as the Americans would inevitably open their ports to foreigners in consequence of this bill, so it would of course involve the ministers in that evil, which, notwithstanding their domestic sanguinary disposition, they of all others dreaded the most; it would involve them in a foreign war, which they had so repeatedly sacrificed the national honour to avoid.

It was said in support of the bill, that the Americans were already in a state of warfare with us, and while that war continued, it must necessarily be carried on by sea and land, and conducted in every manner and respect as it would have been against alien enemies; that the nature, situation, and distance of that continent, rendered the operations by sea indispensable, as those by land, without that auxiliary, if not insufficient, would at least prove dilatory, and the attainment of their object distant; that the stronger, more urgent, and immediate, the coercion was, the fewer would be the mischiefs, the less the expence, and the sooner would peace and order be restored; that an ill-judged appearance of lenity, by staying, or rendering languid, the hand of coercion, would be cruelty in the extremest degree, and prove

prove equally ruinous to England and America:

That whatever real or apparent hardſhips or ſeverities were contained in the bill, they were unavoidable in the preſent ſtate of things, and it was in the power of the Americans, either collectively or individually, to prevent their operation; that the commiſſioners went out with the ſword in one hand, and terms of conciliation in the other. America had the choice. Every colony had it in its power to take the benefit of the latter. It had only to acknowledge the legiſlative ſupremacy of G. Britain; or, if unwilling to accede to ſuch a general declaration, to contribute of its own accord towards the ſupport of government, and thereby, as one of the parts of the empire, entitle itſelf to the protection of the whole; and the work was done, no ſeverity or hardſhip would be known by that colony.

As to the loſſes which our merchants and the Weſt-India iſlands might ſuſtain, theſe, if real, could only be lamented among the many other evils incident to war; but theſe evils, they ſaid, were purely imaginary, and only held out to diſtreſs government, and impede its operations, by alarming the minds of the people, and exciting a domeſtic ferment. Would any one venture to aſſert, that America, deſtitute of reſources, without a ſhip of war in her poſſeſſion, and all her ports and docks open to our fleets, could encounter the naval power of G. Britain? or that the latter was not ſufficient to protect our iſlands and commerce from loſs and inſult? With reſpect to foreign powers, their diſpoſitions were ſaid to be friendly towards us; but were it otherwiſe, none of them who held poſſeſſions in America, could be ſo blind to their own intereſt and ſecurity, as to encourage or ſupport the rebellion of colonies, much leſs to ſuffer the eſtabliſhment of an independent ſtate in the new world.

The bringing in of this bill was attended with an unuſual circumſtance. Mr Fox moved an amendment, to leave out the whole title and body of the bill, excepting only the parts which related to the repeal of the Boſton-port, the fiſhery, and the reſtraining acts. This motion occaſioned very warm debates, and much animadverſion, which continued till after midnight; when the queſtion being put, the amendment was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 192 to 64 only.

The bill was not leſs debated on the 1ſt of December, when it was brought up for the ſecond reading. In this ſtage, it was moved to commit it for the 5th, upon which ſeveral gentleman requeſted the miniſter to poſtpone it for a few days, as the Weſt-India merchants and planters had advertiſed for a meeting of their body, upon that ſubject, on the 6th, thereby to give them any opportunity of laying any evidence or information they ſhould think neceſſary before the Houſe. This, though aſked as a favour, was alſo repreſented as a matter of fairneſs and juſtice, where property was in any degree concerned, much more when ſo immenſe a ſhare of it was at ſtake as in the preſent inſtance. The requeſt, however, not being complied with, it was moved to amend the former motion, by putting off the commitment of the bill to the 12th. This amendment was loſt upon a diviſion, 207 to 55; and the main queſtion being put, after ſome further debate, was carried.

On the 5th, it again cauſed much debate. Several gentlemen, who wiſhed to vote for the conciliatory part, but not for any other, complained, that in its preſent form, it was an heterogeneous irreconcileable mixture of war and conciliation; that this mixture of hoſtility and conciliation in the ſame bill, muſt be intended, either to confound the attention by the variety of the objects, and divert it from obſerving the incongruity of the various parts, or to preclude debate, by carrying on the ſubject-matter of two bills in one. Lord Folkeſtone therefore moved, that the bill might be divided into two ſeparate ones, that each might be ſeparately conſidered and debated.

On the other hand it was ſupported by arguing, that nothing was ſo natural as what had been called ſo contradictory, war or peace in the ſame propoſition; that they were the proper alternative in all ſuch conteſts, war or reſiſtance, peace or ſubmiſſion. What would the oppoſition have ſaid if no powers of peace had been left? Though the motion was rejected by a majority of 76 to 34, the debates were continued in the committee, and carried on to the enſuing day, with great warmth and ſeverity of obſervation. Another motion was made, That the chairman ſhould leave the chair, in order

order to give time to the Weſt-India merchants to prepare and preſent their petition; which was over-ruled by a majority of 126 to 34. Other motions were made, and received a negative without a diviſion. Some amendments were however propoſed, and adopted. The clauſe for veſting the property of the ſeizures in the captors, was ſtrongly combated. It was ſaid, that it would be a diſgrace to the honour of the navy, which would be degraded by it into the rank of pirates; that it would taint the principles and corrupt the hearts of our brave ſeamen, who would thereby acquire habits of cruelty, of piracy, and of robbery, with reſpect to their fellow-ſubjects, which could never be worn off; that it would extinguiſh in their breaſts all patriotiſm, all national pride and glory, and all generous ardour againſt our natural enemies, and ſubſtitute in their place a baſe indiſcriminate ſpirit of rapine, which would equally affect friends and foes.

The extraordinary diſcretionary powers granted to the commiſſioners were much condemned, and ſaid to be of ſuch a nature, as ſhould not be entruſted to any ſet of men in a free government; that they were veſted in the ſovereign upon certain occaſions, but his miniſters were conſidered as reſponſible for the due exerciſe of them; ſo that this bill granted a deſpotic and uncontroulable power to the commiſſioners, which the crown itſelf did not poſſeſs. One gentleman obſerved, that as this bill anſwered all the purpoſes which the moſt ſanguine and violent of the Americans could wiſh, in order to oblige their people to coaleſce as one man in ſhaking off our government, its title ſhould be altered, and fitted to its purpoſe, and then it would be intitled, "A bill for carrying more effectually into execution the reſolves of the Congreſs."

Upon receiving the report from the committee on the 8th, the petition from the Weſt-India merchants was read, and counſel heard in its ſupport; after which it was moved, to poſtpone the further conſideration of the report until the 23d of the following January. This was ſupported upon the thinneſs of the Houſe, moſt of the country-gentlemen having quitted town. It was ſaid, to offend againſt every rule of decency, to be equally diſgraceful to parliament and injurious to the nation, to hurry on national buſineſs of the greateſt magnitude and importance, at ſuch a ſeaſon, and in ſo ſhameful and unprecedented a manner.

To theſe and numberleſs other ſtrictures it was replied, that early notice had been given of the intention of the bill; that a fortnight had elapſed between the motion for bringing it in and the ſecond reading, which was the time for debating the principle of a bill; that as it purſued the ideas thrown out in the ſpeech from the throne, in the moſt exact conformity, it could conſequently contain nothing novel; and that no matter or circumſtance could poſſibly ariſe during the receſs of parliament, which could alter their ſentiments with reſpect to America, except its ſubmiſſion, in which event the bill would ceaſe to operate. The whole of the American buſineſs was this day as fully debated, and as eagerly diſcuſſed, as if this had been the firſt time of its coming before them. The queſtion being at length put, the motion for poſtponing the report was rejected.

A motion being then made by Mr Burke, that Mr Delancey, a gentleman of great conſideration at New York, and now obliged to come to England on account of his diſſent from the proceedings of the Congreſs, ſhould attend the houſe, it was rejected. Upon which, with a deſign to expoſe the neglect of all evidence, and refuſal of information, which now prevailed, the following motion was made, "That it is neceſſary and proper to come to a reſolution, That evidence relative to the ſtate of America, the temper of the people there, and the probable operations of an act now depending, is unneceſſary to this houſe; this houſe being already ſufficiently acquainted with thoſe matters."

On the 11th, previous to the third reading of the prohibitory bill, a motion was made by Gov. Johnſton, That no evidence had been laid before the Houſe of the delinquency of the province of Georgia, which was notwithſtanding included in the ſame common puniſhment with the other colonies. This motion alſo tended to ſhew the abſurdity of proceeding without information, and the injuſtice of condemning without proof. Tho' this motion paſſed in the negative, it occaſioned a warm debate, in which the miniſters were hard put to ſupport the charge of delinquency.

As the minority now declared, that

they ſaw, that all attempts to withſtand the force which was carrying the bill through, were utterly futile, and that the country-gentleman had (as they ſaid) ſhamefully deſerted their duty, and abandoned the public buſineſs, moſt of them grew weary of ſo fruitleſs a conteſt, and the Houſe was thinly attended on that ſide at the time of paſſing the bill. An attempt was, however, made to leſſen the rigour of forfeitures, with reſpect to the trade between our Weſt India iſlands and the continent of America, the ſhips in which were liable to confiſcation, before they could poſſibly know that they had incurred any penalty, or that any ſuch law was in exiſtence. Another was alſo made, to defer the laſt reading till after the holidays; but they both proved equally fruitleſs, and the bill was paſſed upon a diviſion, by a majority of 112 to 36 only.

We muſt now recur to ſeveral tranſactions which paſſed during the progreſs of this bill. We have already ſeen, that ſeveral fruitleſs attempts had been made by oppoſition, to obtain information as to the ſtate of the forces in North America, as well as of the expences hitherto incurred on the different parts of that ſervice, ſo far as they could be made out. Notwithſtanding the conſtant diſappointment that attended theſe inquiries, Mr Fox, Nov. 22. moved, to lay before the Houſe, an account of the expences of the ſtaff, hoſpitals, extraordinaries, and all military contingencies whatſoever, of the army in America, from Auguſt 1773, to Auguſt 1775, incluſive. He ſaid, that he had drawn up the motion in thoſe words, in order that it might comprehend and lay open an aſtoniſhing ſcene of miniſterial deluſion to the Houſe; that it would bring the ſtaff, which had been artfully held back, into the full glare of day; it would ſhew, that the expence of ordnance in the year 1775 had exceeded that in any of the Duke of Marlborough's glorious campaigns; and it would give ſufficient ground for prediction, that it would in the preſent year be conſiderably greater, than in any of the moſt victorious ones of the laſt war, when we were engaged in a conteſt, either directly or indirectly, with almoſt all the great powers in Europe, and retained a military force of 338,000 men in actual pay; it would ſhew how they were impoſed upon in all other eſtimates as well as in that of the ordnance, in which the miniſter had the temerity to incur a debt of 240,000l. though every branch of the military ſervice had been amply provided for by his own acknowledgement, and according to his own arrangements.

The miniſters paid little attention to the reaſons urged in ſupport of this inquiry. They ſaid, that ſome of the accounts were on the table, and they would all be regularly laid there, in their proper ſeaſon; that they appertained to different heads of ſervice or proviſion, and came properly under examination when theſe ſeveral heads were to be conſidered; that it was unuſual, irregular, and troubleſome, to demand ſuch accounts, when there was no queſtion or buſineſs before the Houſe to authoriſe ſuch demands; and that however adminiſtration might be diſpoſed to comply with ſuch a requiſition, it was not in their power to do it, as ſeveral of the accounts were not yet received.

This refuſal, and the indifference with which it was accompanied, brought on ſome ſevere ſtrictures. It was urged, that the motion was ſtrictly parliamentary; that it could convey no ſecret to the enemy; that no inſtance could be produced of the refuſal of ſuch information, except in caſes where the want of the neceſſary materials rendered the compliance impoſſible; that this was obviated by the mover, who required no accounts nor information but what were in their cuſtody or power; that their ſitting any longer there was a mere farce, and could anſwer no purpoſe of their inſtitution, if accounts of that nature could be refuſed. The queſtion paſſed in the negative without a diviſion.

On the ſame day the militia-bill was read the third time; when a rider was propoſed by Sir George Saville, and received, by which its duration was limited to ſeven years. The bill was then paſſed.

The third reading of the indemnity-bill, Nov. 24. brought on a very warm and animated debate. A motion was made for leaving out of the preamble theſe words, "doubts having been entertained of the legality of the meaſure;" and to inſert in their place the following amendment, "that the meaſure of ſending the Hanoverian troops to the garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca was not warranted by law, and was againſt the ſpirit of the conſtitution." It was contended in ſupport of the motion, that the bill in its

preſent

preſent ſtate carried an abſurdity glaring on its very face; its body contained an indemnity for an offence, while the preamble declared that none had been committed; that it was an inſult upon the Houſe, to propoſe the remittal of a puniſhment, and to make it acknowledge, at the ſame time, that none had been incurred; the mockery, they ſaid, was too groſs to be endured; that, however dangerous the meaſure of introducing foreign troops was, the precedent to be eſtabliſhed by the bill was infinitely more ſo, as it was obtaining the ſanction of parliament for that violation of the laws, and dangerous infraction of the conſtitution; that the miniſter came before the Houſe in a ſituation no other had ever ventured; he firſt violated the laws of his country, and then had the effrontery to come to parliament, not to claim its indulgence, but to make it teſtify, that what he had done was perfectly right and unexceptionable.

It can ſcarcely paſs obſervation, that the miniſter found himſelf frequently obliged to vary his ground in the courſe of this buſineſs. In its beginning, to prevent the defection of the court-part of the country-gentlemen, after an appearance of firmneſs which bordered upon obſtinacy, he ſuddenly ſeemed to conform to their ideas, in agreeing to the bringing in of the indemnity bill. When the great point of the addreſs was gained, he ſeemed totally to forget the matter, and did not wiſh to be reminded of it. Their importunity at length growing troubleſome, and many great points ſtill remaining to be obtained, he ſeemed to coincide in their opinion, and accordingly brought in the bill; but took care to conſtruct it in ſuch a manner, as that it ſhould anſwer purpoſes extremely differing from thoſe which they intended. Since that time, he had continually varied his tone, from firmneſs to conceſſion, and from conceſſion to firmneſs, in proportion to the objects he had in view, and to the apparent complexion and preſent temper of the Houſe. Having now nearly carried all the great points of the ſeſſion through, and moſt of the country-gentlemen being abſent, he returned to his original doctrine, from which he would not recede in the ſmalleſt degree, and declared, that as far as his vote went, he would not ſuffer the alteration of a tittle in the bill:— he wanted no indemnity, and let thoſe who were in love with the meaſure, take the bill as it was, or not at all. However innocent the motives were, certainly it afforded matter of uneaſineſs to the friends of government, and to thoſe who were the moſt remote from party views and prejudices, to ſee the court ſo eager at this critical time, to eſtabliſh a precedent for the introduction of foreign troops without the conſent of parliament, and ſo anxious to prevent any thing like a cenſure which might in future be a clog to ſuch a meaſure.

The amendment was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 130 to 58; and the bill accordingly paſſed in its original ſtate.

In purſuance of the inſtructions from the city of London to its repreſentatives, Mr Alderman Oliver made a motion Nov. 27. for an addreſs to his Majeſty, to impart to the Houſe the original authors and adviſers of ſeveral of the late meaſures (which were paſſed into laws, and were now ſpecified) relative to America, before thoſe meaſures were propoſed in parliament. This buſineſs was undertaken without the approbation of, or any concert with, oppoſition in general; who diſliked it upon many accounts, particularly as being ineffective in its nature, very unparliamentary in its form and ſpirit, as not being founded upon any fact, and as offering a juſtification to miniſters, by taking away their reſponſibility, and ſuppoſing their obnoxious meaſures to be the acts of other, or of unknown perſons. The miniſter turned it into ridicule, with much wit and ſpirit; and the oppoſition, in order to get rid of it without a flat negative, called for the order of the day; and failing in that, they moved the previous queſtion: but the miniſters being determined that the motion ſhould not paſs without reprobation, prevented that eſcape by a majority of 156 to 16; and the main queſtion being then put, the motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 163 to 10 only.

The diſcouragement ariſing from the diſappointment which he experienced in the preceding ſeſſion [37. 179.], was not ſufficient to deter Mr Hartley [Dec. 7.] from a ſimilar attempt in the preſent, with a view of bringing about a reconciliation between G. Britain and her colonies. His plan of accommodation, which, in its ground and principle was much the ſame with his former, was principally formed on the general language of adminiſtration and that of the congreſs, which,

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he was of opinion, did not ſo much diſagree as was commonly imagined; the former growing every day more apparently indifferent about taxation, and the latter admitting a general ſuperintendency in parliament.

The object of his propoſitions were, firſt, an addreſs to his Majeſty for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; a bill to enable the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay to elect an aſſembly and council, according to their late charter; a teſt-bill, eſtabliſhing a right of trial by jury, in all criminal caſes, to all ſlaves in North America, for annulling all laws in any province repugnant thereto, and to be regiſtered by the reſpective aſſemblies of all the colonies. Upon a compliance with this teſt of obedience, the operation of the two following bills was to commence, viz. a bill for a permanent reconciliation, by repealing all the laws ſince the year 1763, and thereby placing the colonies in the exact ſituation in which they ſtood at that time; and a general indemnity-bill. The whole was concluded with a motion for an addreſs to the throne, that when quiet was reſtored, it might be proper to ſend letters of requiſition, as uſual, to the ſeveral colonies, for ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for government and defence. This propoſition ſeems to have been carried on nearly as little in concert with the generality of the oppoſition as the former.

The miniſters treated theſe conciliatory propoſitions with ſome degree of inattention and indifference. They ſaid, in general, that the main ſubject of theſe motions had been already frequently and fully diſcuſſed; that until the plan propoſed from the throne was tried, and its effects known, it was nugatory, and waſting the time of the Houſe, to break in upon them with freſh propoſals; that the ſenſe of a great majority of the Houſe had been frequently declared againſt the principles of theſe reſolutions; that they held out no ſecurity, and were accompanied with no ſolemn ſanction, that if they were acceded to on our part, they would be accepted by the Americans; that the claim of taxation virtually included the claim of ſovereignty, it being impoſſible to relinquiſh the one without ſurrendering the other; and that the idea of obtaining a productive revenue from America had never been abandoned.

The debate was of courſe ſhort; and the queſtion being put upon the firſt reſolution, it was rejected upon a diviſion by a majority of 123 to 21. The other reſolutions received a negative without a diviſion.

The indemnity-bill, after all the trouble it had given to the miniſter and to the country-gentlemen in the Houſe of Commons, was thrown out by the Lords. It was oppoſed in that Houſe by the Marquis of Rockingham, who condemned it in very ſtrong terms, upon the direct variance between the preamble and the enacting clauſes; he ſaid, that the holding out of an indemnity, while it aſſerted, that the perſons indemnified were guilty of no offence, would render it a diſgrace to our laws and legiſlation; and that it beſides, under that colour of indemnity, gave a ſanction to a glaring violation, both of the law and conſtitution, in placing foreign troops in our garriſons. As the Lords in adminiſtration agreed with the Noble Marquis upon the point of impropriety or abſurdity in its ſtructure, and did not think an indemnity at all neceſſary, they readily coincided in rejecting the bill; ſo that it was thrown out without either defence or diviſion. [38. 16.]

The prohibitory bill met with great oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, almoſt every part of it undergoing a ſpecific diſcuſſion [38. 76.]. Upon the motion for its commitment after the ſecond reading [Dec. 15.], the debates were long, able and animated; and ſome very warm and pointed perſonal altercation and animadverſion took place. The Lords in oppoſition combated the bill upon every ground of policy, juſtice, and expediency. On the former they obſerved, that, by conſidering the Americans as a foreign nation, and declaring war on them in that character, this bill drew the line of ſeparation, chalked out the way, and prepared their minds, for that independency which they were charged with affecting; that the Engliſh on both ſides of the ocean, were now to be taught by act of parliament, to conſider themſelves as ſeparate and diſtinct nations, as nations ſuſceptible of general hoſtility, and proper parties for mutual declarations of war, and treaties of peace; that by the promiſcuous and indiſcriminate rapine of the property of friends and foes, authoriſed by the bill, it muſt complete what yet remained to be completed, of union in North America againſt the authority of parliament; and that the friends of government

vernment in that country, whoſe numbers and power have been ſo much boaſted of by adminiſtration, will now plainly ſee, that parliament is much more inclined to diſtreſs, than able or willing to protect.

Its impolicy and injuſtice with reſpect to the Weſt Indies, was repreſented to be ſtill more glaring. Here it inflicts a much more certain and ſevere puniſhment upon a people not even ſuſpected of crime or offence, than it is capable of extending to the moſt refractory of the Americans. An act of the Britiſh parliament is called in as a ſupplementary aid, and an extenſion of the authority of the Congreſs in that meaſure, which, of all others adopted by that body, was the moſt reprehenſible and unjuſtifiable on their ſide, and the moſt pernicious to us, the cutting off their uſual ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries from thoſe unhappy iſlands. The meaſure of confiſcating thoſe veſſels, which, to avoid all breach of the laws, and all illicit commerce, were laid up by the owners in their own docks and harbours, there waiting to be brought into uſe upon a return of peace and better times, was equally reprobated.

But of all the parts of this law, none was treated with ſo much ſeverity in that houſe, or excited ſuch apparent indignation, as that clauſe, by which all thoſe who were taken on board the American veſſels, were indiſcriminately compelled, without diſtinction of perſons, to ſerve as common ſailors in our ſhips of war. This clauſe was marked with every poſſible ſtigma, and was deſcribed by the Lords in their proteſt, as "a refinement in tyranny," which, "in a ſentence worſe than death, obliges the unhappy men who ſhall be made captives in this predatory war, to bear arms againſt their families, kindred, friends, and country; and after being plundered themſelves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren." The injuſtice and cruelty of this clauſe, they ſaid, was ſtill heightened, by rendering the unhappy perſons who were thus compelled, ſubject to the articles of war, and liable to be ſhot for deſertion. They pathetically repreſented the miſeries to which perſons in this melancholy ſituation, particularly thoſe of the better ſort, would be ſubject, from the inſolence and outrage of thoſe with whom they were obliged to ſerve, who being themſelves deſtitute of liberal principles and education, would ſtill continue to conſider and treat them as rebels; nor did they conſider it as the ſmalleſt part of the calamity, that they would be frequently obliged to be lookers-on, when the ſpoils of their honeſt induſtry, and the natural ſupport of their ſober families, was ſquandered in riot and debauchery, by thoſe profligate comrades with whom they were at the ſame time obliged to live, and to ſerve. Upon the whole, this ſituation was ſaid to be the laſt degree of wretchedneſs and indignity to which human nature could be ſubjected; and that a cruelty unknown to the moſt ſavage nations, was thus to be practiſed by Engliſhmen on Engliſhmen. They inſiſted, that no man could be deſpoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the ſame time obliged to ſerve the ſtate as a citizen, upon any principle of law or right known among civilized nations; that ſuch a compulſion upon priſoners as the preſent, is unknown in any caſe of war or rebellion; and the only examples of the ſort that can be produced, muſt be found among pirates,—the outlaws and enemies of human ſociety.

To theſe and many other charges againſt the nature and principles of the bill, the cruelty, the daring rebellion, and the ultimate treaſonable views of the Americans, were brought in juſtification. They were not even content with rebellion ſimply, they had commenced an offenſive war againſt us, and invaded our dominions with numerous armies. The principle of the bill was, to make a naval war upon America; and as in ſuch caſes it would be impoſſible to make diſtinctions in favour of the innocent, the bill was framed according to the general ideas of carrying on war againſt a foreign enemy, where it is always taken for granted, that every individual is concerned in and abetting every act of public hoſtility; that nothing could be more right or expedient, than the encouragement given to that moſt uſeful and deſerving body of our people, the ſeamen, by veſting in them the effects which they ſhould take from the enemy; that it would induce them to act with double vigour, and be at the ſame time a means of manning the navy; and that it had been practiſed in the two laſt wars, when its good effects were too well and too generally known to require any illuſtration; that this bill was indiſpenſably neceſſary, as no exiſting law had foreſeen, or provided

vided for the caſe, of carrying on a ſea war againſt rebels.

As to the cruelty and injuſtice ſo much complained of, in compelling the crews of the American veſſels to ſerve in the navy, theſe charges were ſo far from being acknowledged, that this meaſure was ſaid to be an act of grace and favour to them; inſtead of confining them in a cloſe priſon during the continuance of the war, which muſt be the caſe if they were conſidered as alien enemies, or puniſhing them as traitors, if conſidered as rebels, they were immediately rated upon the King's books, and put upon the ſame footing with a great body of his moſt uſeful and faithful ſubjects; ſuffering no inconvenience but that which they were always liable to, of being preſſed into his Majeſty's ſervice. As to the ſuppoſed violation of their principles, which was ſo much lamented, their pay and emoluments were ſaid to be a full compenſation for all ſcruples and delicacies of that nature.

The ſuppoſed miſchiefs ariſing to our Weſt-India iſlands were ſaid to be greatly aggravated; but at any rate, as well as the loſſes which the well-diſpoſed in North America might ſuſtain, were to be conſidered as a part of thoſe unavoidable evils which are incident to war. A great law Lord declared, in the farther progreſs of the bill, that we were not now to conſider the queſtions of original right or wrong, juſtice or injuſtice; we were engaged in a war, and we muſt uſe our utmoſt efforts to obtain the ends propoſed by it; we muſt fight or be purſued; and the juſtice of the cauſe muſt give way to our preſent ſituation. To this he applied the laconic ſpeech of a brave Scotch officer in the ſervice of Guſtavus Adolphus, who, pointing to the enemy, ſaid to his men, "See you thoſe, lads; kill them, or they will kill you."

After long debates, which were ably ſupported till near eleven at night, the queſtion for commitment being put, was carried upon a diviſion, by 78, including 30 proxies, to 19, including 7 proxies.

In this ſtate of the bill, a proteſt of uncommon length, and ſtill greater energy, was entered againſt it; in which ſeveral of its parts underwent the ſevereſt ſcrutiny; and the ſeaſon of carrying a bill through, ſo unprecedented in its nature, and important in its conſequences, at a time when, they ſay, moſt of the independent members of both houſes were called away by their domeſtic affairs, and when few but thoſe in the immediate pay of the court, and attending on their employments, remained in town, was particularly condemned. [37. 673.]

In three days after, upon going into a committee on the bill, the Duke of Mancheſter moved for deferring the commitment till after the holidays. He founded his motion, beſides the importance and novelty of the bill, upon the reports which were then arrived of our loſſes in Canada. The motion was ſupported by the Marquis of Rockingham, upon the farther ground, of the alarm which the bill had excited among the trading and commercial part of the nation. The motion paſſed in the negative, without a diviſion.

The Noble Duke then offered to preſent a petition from the merchants of Briſtol, ſtating the ruinous conſequences of the bill, to themſelves in particular, as well as to the mercantile intereſt in general. But as the order of the day had been already moved for, it was ſaid that the petition could not now be received. Some clauſes in favour of the Britiſh traders, and of the Weſt-India iſlands, were, however, propoſed by the Lords in adminiſtration, and received to the committee; which, it was ſuppoſed, would in ſome degree remedy the grievances ſtated in the petition.

On the third reading of the bill, Dec. 20. an amendment in favour of the merchants to one of the clauſes, was propoſed by the Marquis of Rockingham, intending to prolong the commencement of the operation of the bill, from the 1ſt of January to the 1ſt of March, and thereby to preſerve from confiſcation the property of thoſe merchants, who, under the faith of parliament in the two reſtrictive laws, had loaded veſſels with lumber in North America for the Weſt-India iſlands. This was oppoſed on two grounds; firſt, that it was contrary to eſtabliſhed practice, to oppoſe any particular clauſe in a bill at the third reading; the objection muſt go to the whole and not to any particular part; and ſecondly, that the delay required in the operation, would overthrow the principle of the bill, and render it totally inefficacious. The motion was loſt without a diviſion, and the bill paſſed of courſe.

The bill being returned on the next day to the Commons, the amendments were agreed to, after an ineffectual attempt to defer the conſideration of them for ſix months.

AM

AMERICA. [91.]

Inſtructions given by the Congreſs to the American Plenipotentiaries ſent to the ſeveral courts in Europe.

[*This has appeared lately in the London papers, and is ſaid to be authentic.*]

In Congreſs, Dec. 30. 1776.

Reſolved,

That Commiſſioners be ſent to the courts of Vienna, France, Spain, Pruſſia, and the Grand Duke of Tuſcany.

That the ſeveral Commiſſioners of the United States be inſtructed to aſſure the reſpective courts, that, notwithſtanding the artful and inſidious endeavours of the court of Great Britain, to repreſent the Congreſs and inhabitants of theſe States to the European powers, as having a diſpoſition again to ſubmit to the ſovereignty of the crown of Great Britain, it is their determination, at all events, to maintain their independence.

That the Commiſſioners be reſpectively directed to uſe every means in their power to procure the aſſiſtance of the Emperor of Germany, and of their Moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and Pruſſian Majeſties, for preventing Ruſſian, German, and other foreign troops, from being ſent to North America, for hoſtile purpoſes againſt the United States, and for obtaining a recall of thoſe already ſent.

That his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty be induced, if poſſible, to aſſiſt the United States in the preſent war with Great Britain, by attacking the electorate of Hanover, or any part of the dominions of Great Britain, in Europe, the Eaſt or Weſt Indies.

That the Commiſſioners be further impowered to ſtipulate with the court of France, that all the trade between the United States and the Weſt-India iſlands, ſhall be carried on by veſſels either belonging to the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or theſe States, each having liberty to carry on ſuch trade.

That the Commiſſioners be likewiſe inſtructed to aſſure his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that ſhould his forces be employed in conjunction with thoſe of the United States, to exclude his Britannic Majeſty from any ſhare in the cod-fiſhery of America, by reducing the iſlands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton; and that ſhips of war be furniſhed, when required, by the United States, to reduce Nova Scotia; the fiſhery ſhall be enjoyed equally, and in common, by the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, provided the province of Nova Scotia, iſland of Cape Breton, and the remaining part of Newfoundland, be annexed to the territory and government of the United States.

That ſhould the propoſals made as above be inſufficient to produce the propoſed declaration of war, and the Commiſſioners are convinced that it cannot otherwiſe be accompliſhed, they muſt aſſure his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that ſuch of the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands as in the courſe of the war ſhall be reduced, by the united force of France and theſe States, ſhall be yielded in abſolute property to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. The United States engage, on timely notice, to furniſh, at the expence of the ſaid States, and deliver at ſome convenient port or ports, in the ſaid State, proviſions for carrying on an expedition againſt the ſaid iſlands, to the amount of two millions of dollars, and ſix frigates, mounting not leſs than twenty-four guns each, manned and fitted for ſea; and to render any other aſſiſtance which may be in their power, as becomes good allies.

That the Commiſſioners for the courts of France and Spain conſult together, and prepare a treaty of commerce and alliance, as nearly as may be, ſimilar to the firſt propoſed to the court of France, and not inconſiſtent therewith, nor diſagreeable to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to be propoſed to the court of Spain; adding thereto,

That if his Catholic Majeſty will join with the United States in a war with Great Britain, they will aſſiſt in reducing to the poſſeſſion of Spain, the town and harbour of Penſacola, provided the citizens and inhabitants of the United States ſhall have the free and uninterrupted navigation of the Miſſiſippi, and the uſe of the harbour of Penſacola; and will, provided it ſhall be true that his Portugueſe Majeſty has inſultingly expelled the veſſels of theſe States from his ports, or has confiſcated ſuch veſſels, declare war againſt the ſaid King, if that meaſure ſhall be agreeable to, and ſupported by the courts of France and Spain.

That the Commiſſioners for the court of Berlin conſult with the Commiſſioners at the court of France, and prepare ſuch treaty or treaties of friendſhip and commerce to be propoſed to the King of Pruſſia as ſhall not be diſagreeable to

their Moſt Chriſtian and Catholic Majeſties.

By order of the Congreſs,
JOHN HANCOCK, Preſident.
Extract from the Minutes,
CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec."

Subſtance of the ſpeech of Lt-Gen. Burgoyne to the Indians, in Congreſs, at the camp upon the river Bouquet, June 21. 1777, and their anſwer.

CHIEFS and WARRIORS,

THE Great King, our common father, and the patron of all who ſeek and deſerve his protection, has conſidered with ſatisfaction the general conduct of the Indian tribes from the beginning of the troubles in America. Too ſagacious and too faithful to be deluded or corrupted, they have obſerved the violated rights of the parental power they love, and burned to vindicate them. A few individuals alone, the refuſe of a ſmall tribe, at the firſt were led aſtray; and the miſrepreſentations, the ſpecious allurements, the inſidious promiſes, and diverſified plots, in which the rebels are exerciſed, and all of which they employed for that effect, have ſerved only in the end to enhance the honour of the tribes in general, by demonſtrating to the world how few and how contemptible are the apoſtates. It is a truth known to you all, that, theſe pitiful examples excepted, and they probably have before this day hid their faces in ſhame, the collective voices and hands of the Indian tribes over this vaſt continent, are on the ſide of juſtice, of law, and of the King.

The reſtraint you have put upon your reſentment in waiting the King your father's call to arms, the hardeſt proof, I am perſuaded, to which your affection could have been put, is another manifeſt and affecting mark of your adherence to that principle of connection to which you were always fond to allude, and which it is mutually the joy and the duty of the parent to cheriſh.

The clemency of your father has been abuſed, the offers of his mercy have been deſpiſed, and his farther patience would, in his eyes, become culpable, in as much as it would with-hold redreſs from the moſt grievous oppreſſions in the provinces that ever diſgraced the hiſtory of mankind. It therefore remains for me, the General of one of his Majeſty's armies, and in this council his repreſentative, to releaſe you from thoſe bonds your obedience impoſed. — Warriors, you are free. — Go forth in the might of your valour and your cauſe; ſtrike at the common enemies of Great Britain and America, — diſturbers of public order, peace, and happineſs, — deſtroyers of commerce, parricides of the ſtate.

The circle round you, the Chiefs of his Majeſty's European forces, and of the Princes his allies, eſteem you as brothers in the war. Emulous in glory and in friendſhip, we will endeavour reciprocally to give and to receive examples; we know how to value, and we will ſtrive to imitate, your perſeverance in enterpriſe, and your conſtancy to reſiſt hunger, wearineſs, and pain. Be it our taſk, from the dictates of our religion, the laws of our warfare, and the principles and intereſt of our policy, to regulate your paſſions when they overbear, to point out where it is nobler to ſpare than to revenge, to diſcriminate degrees of guilt, to ſuſpend the uplifted ſtroke, to chaſtiſe, and not to deſtroy.

This war to you, my friends, is new: upon all former occaſions in taking the field you held yourſelves authoriſed to deſtroy where-ever you came, becauſe every where you found an enemy. The caſe is now very different.

The King has many faithful ſubjects diſperſed in the provinces, conſequently you have many brothers there: and theſe people are the more to be pitied, that they are perſecuted, or impriſoned, wherever they are diſcovered, or ſuſpected; and to diſſemble, is, to a generous mind, a yet more grievous puniſhment.

Perſuaded that your magnanimity of character, joined to your principles of affection to the King, will give me fuller controul over your minds than the military rank with which I am inveſted, I enjoin your moſt ſerious attention to the rules which I hereby proclaim for your invariable obſervation during the campaign.

I poſitively forbid bloodſhed when you are not oppoſed in arms.

Aged men, women, children, and priſoners, muſt be held ſacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the time of actual conflict.

You ſhall receive compenſation for the priſoners you take, but you ſhall be called to account for ſcalps.

In conformity and indulgence to your cuſtoms, which have affixed an idea of honour to ſuch badges of victory, you

ſhall

ſhall be allowed to take the ſcalps of the dead, when killed by your fire, and in fair oppoſition; but on no account, or pretence, or ſubtlety, or prevarication, are they to be taken from the wounded, or even dying; and ſtill leſs pardonable, if poſſible, will it be held, to kill men in that condition, on purpoſe, and upon a ſuppoſition, that this protection to the wounded would be thereby evaded.

Baſe lurking aſſaſſins, incendiaries, ravagers, and plunderers of the country, to whatever army they may belong, ſhall be treated with leſs reſerve; but the latitude muſt be given you by order, and I muſt be the judge of the occaſion.

Should the enemy, on their part, dare to countenance acts of barbarity towards thoſe who may fall into their hands, it ſhall be yours alſo to retaliate; but till ſeverity ſhall be thus compelled, bear immoveable in your hearts this ſolid maxim, it cannot be too deeply impreſſed, That the great eſſential reward-worthy ſervice of your alliance, the ſincerity of your zeal to the King your father and never-failing protector, will be examined and judged upon the teſt only of your ſteady and uniform adherence to the orders and counſels of thoſe to whom his Majeſty has intruſted the direction and the honour of his arms.

Anſwer from an old Chief of the Iroquois.

I ſtand up in the name of all the nations preſent, to aſſure our father, that we have attentively liſtened to his diſcourſe. We receive you as our father, becauſe when you ſpeak, we hear the voice of our great father beyond the great lake.

We rejoice in the approbation you have expreſſed of our behaviour.

We have been tried and tempted by the Boſtonians; but we have loved our father, and our hatchets have been ſharpened upon our affections.

In proof of the ſincerity of our profeſſions, our whole villages able to go to war are come forth. The old and infirm, our infants and our wives, alone remain at home.

With one common aſſent we promiſe a conſtant obedience to all you have ordered, and all you ſhall order; and may the Father of days give you many, and ſucceſs!

Hiſtorical Notes, extracted from the accounts publiſhed by authority of Congreſs.

Maj.-Gen. Philip Schuyler, commander in chief of the northern department, on the 13th of July laſt iſſued a counter-proclamation to that of Gen. Burgoyne [39. 368. 479. 517.], in which he cautions the inhabitants of the counties under his juriſdiction againſt liſtening to the ſpecious promiſes of their barbarous invaders; — inſtances the unhappy lot of thoſe deluded inhabitants of New Jerſey, who, having truſted to their protection, had been abandoned by them, and obliged, on their retreat, to caſt themſelves on the mercy of their much-injured countrymen; — and denounces the moſt rigorous puniſhment the laws can inflict againſt all thoſe who in any manner ſhould aſſiſt, or give comfort to, or hold correſpondence with, or take protection from, the enemy; — inviting at the ſame time the militia of thoſe counties to march without delay, and to join the army under his command. [This counter-proclamation had the deſired effect. The militia from all quarters flocked in, and in a great meaſure compoſed the numbers that ſurrounded Gen. Burgoyne, and obliged him to capitulate.]

But while the northern invaſion occupied the thoughts and excited the apprehenſions of the neighbouring diſtricts, the weſtern counties were ſurpriſed by an unſuſpected invaſion of regulars and Indians, under the conduct of Col. St Leger; and ſo rapid was the Colonel's progreſs, that the inhabitants had ſcarce time to provide Fort Stanwix, the only garriſon they had in that quarter, with ſtores and proviſions, before the enemy appeared before the place.

On the 2d of Auguſt the ſtores arrived, and on the 3d the King's troops took poſt about a mile below the fort; and while the captain of the batteaux who had the care of the proviſions, was employed in regulating the delivery, he was ſurpriſed and taken by the Indian ſcouts.

The ſiege was no ſooner formed, than a ſummons was ſent to Col. Ganſevoort, the commandant, to ſurrender. His anſwer was, that he would defend the fort to the laſt extremity.

On the 4th the batteries were opened, and began to play.

The night of the 5th indicated ſomething in contemplation. The firing ceaſed on the part of the beſiegers, and the Indians were uncommonly clamorous.

On the 6th three men found means to

reach the fort, who brought intelligence, that Gen. Harkeman, with the Tyron-county militia, was in full march, was at no great distance, and was determined at all events to force himself into the fort. In order to favour his design, it was agreed to make a sally, and 200 men were instantly put under the command of Col. Willett for that purpose; who, finding the enemy's posts but weakly guarded, forced two of their encampments, totally routed the few troops that occupied them, destroyed all their provisions, brought off their kettles and camp-equipage, a variety of Indian implements, and returned victorious with a considerable booty and a few prisoners, among whom was a lieutenant, Singleton, much wounded. By these prisoners they received the first intelligence of Harkeman's misfortune, and of his party being ambushed, and almost cut to pieces by the Indians [39. 520.]. Relief from that quarter being thus defeated, on the 8th Adj.-Gen. Armstrong, Col. Butler, and a surgeon to dress the wounds of Mr Singleton, came with a flag, and delivered a message from the Colonel, offering honourable terms of capitulation; but, in case of refusal, threatening to let loose the Indians on the country, who would spare neither man, woman, nor child. To this the answer was, Let then the blood of the innocents be upon the murderers; but as for the garrison, they would defend the fort.

Col. Willet, on this menace, was in the dead of night dispatched with two or three trusty attendants, who knew the country, to alarm the inhabitants, and to endeavour to procure assistance for the relief of the garrison.

The siege went on briskly; and on the 10th, the fire from the fort seeming to abate, the Colonel sent by another flag the proclamation issued by Gen. Burgoyne, which on the 13th was seconded by a rescript from the King's Superintendents for Indian affairs [Johnson, Claus, and Butler], addressed to the different townships, exhorting them to send deputations from their several boards in order to compel the garrison to surrender. "You have (say they) great reason to dread the resentment of the Indians on account of the losses they have sustained in the late actions, and the mulish obstinacy of your troops, who have no resource but in themselves; for which reason they [the Indians] declare, that, if they make further opposition, they will put every soul to death, not only the garrison, but the whole country." To these threatenings the commandant returned, "That, being by the United States of America entrusted with the charge of the garrison, he was determined to defend it, without any concern for the consequences of doing his duty."

On the return of this answer the firing on both sides was redoubled, and so continued without intermission till the 22d of August, when the besiegers had made their approaches within 150 paces of the fort, and when the garrison every hour expected a general assault.

In the mean time Col. Willett had been active in his applications, and had succeeded in his endeavours to animate the people to rise in their own defence, as well as in accelerating the march of a body of troops under the command of Gen. Arnold to the relief of the garrison.

On the 21st of August, Arnold, by indefatigable marches, through almost impassable roads, had arrived within two days easy march of the enemy's camp, determined at all events to raise the siege, or perish in the attempt; but next day he received a letter from the commandant of the fort, that the enemy had made a precipitate retreat.

Previous, however, to this resolution, Col. St Leger tried his last effort to prevail on the garrison to surrender, by counterfeiting a regard and tenderness for the besieged, an aversion to the effusion of human blood, and a desire to save the country from devastation. He said, he had deferred the attack till he had obtained from the Indians a solemn promise to forbear all manner of violence to those who should fall into their hands; that he could now assure the commandant, that no injury should be offered to the prisoners, provided the fort was immediately delivered up as at first demanded: and this he required and earnestly intreated the commandant to do; for that, if he did not, the carnage would be dreadful. He added, that it was now in vain to resist; that the expected supplies were cut off, Gen. Burgoyne was in possession of Albany, the Continental army was defeated, and nothing remained, but either to surrender or perish.

But this message had scarce been delivered, and a resolute answer returned, when

when word was brought, that the Indians had deſerted, the ſiege was raiſed, and that the Colonel, with the few Britiſh troops that were in his army, were fled. This news was ſo unexpected, that it was hardly credited. Ganſevoort, ſuſpecting their deſign, and hearing that Arnold was on his march, diſpatched a meſſenger inſtantly to appriſe him of the event, and to put him upon his guard againſt a ſurpriſe; and at the ſame time diſpatched a party of 60 men to trace the route of the enemy, and to hang upon their rear: theſe returned in the evening, laden with booty, and with a few priſoners; who were afterwards followed by ſome deſerters, who reported, that the enemy had made a forced march of twenty-two miles, and were in the utmoſt conſternation, being totally deſerted by the Indians, and having ſcarce any dependence on the Canadians.

On the 24th of Auguſt, Gen. Arnold, with his little army of 1000 men, arrived at the fort, and found the news of the enemy's retreat confirmed, with this further circumſtance, that the Indians, ten miles from the fort, fell upon the ſcattered regulars that were unable to keep pace with the main body, ſeized their arms, plundered them of their cloaths and accoutrements, and ſtabbed them with their own bayonets. [39. 648.]

To account for this ſudden deſertion of the Indians, it afterwards appeared, that one Cuyler, an emiſſary of Col. Butler's, employed to diſperſe among the inhabitants the recent proclamation of Gen. Burgoyne, arrived in the evening of the 21ſt at the enemy's head quarters, and gave intelligence of the retreat of the King's forces from Saratoga, and of the approach of Arnold with a force double to that of which his army conſiſted, which, he ſaid, was cloſe at his heels. The rumour of this intelligence meeting the ear of the Indians, they were ſtruck with a panic, and inſtantly prepared for flight; while Col. St Leger, to deceive the garriſon, increaſed his fire from the batteries, and ſtill further to gain time, amuſed the commandant with the plauſible meſſage already recited. — Such is the American account of the weſtern expedition, as they call it, under Col. St Leger.

We ſhall in the next place proceed with equal brevity to relate the particulars of the eaſtern expedition, which they ſuppoſed was undertaken by the advice and under the command of Col. Skeene, though that gentleman was no otherwiſe employed than as a guide to the troops on their march, and as a civil magiſtrate to receive the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, and to grant pardons and adminiſter the oaths to delinquents. [39. 518.]

About the middle of Auguſt intelligence having reached Bennington, that a ſtrong detachment from the main army was in full march to lay the country under contribution, Gen. Starke, with his brigade of New-Hampſhire militia, being ſtationed in that town, determined to collect what troops were within reach, and to give them battle. Accordingly the regiments of Simonds, Warner, and Brown, with a number of volunteers from the neighbouring townſhips, haſtily aſſembled, and concerted their plan. In the mean time the regulars were advanced within a few miles of the town, and, being informed of the force in march againſt them, had thrown up a breaſtwork for their better defence.

On the 16th of Auguſt Gen. Starke advanced with his whole force, and about three in the afternoon the engagement began. For more than two hours the action was hot and bloody; the flanking parties of the regulars were borne down by numbers, and eaſily overcome: but their front ſtood firm, and it was with difficulty that the raw undiſciplined troops were led on to ſtorm their lines. The conflict was dreadful; the German riflemen did great execution, till being driven at laſt from their breaſtwork, their whole body fell into confuſion, their leader Lt-Col. Baum was taken, and the remains of the corps put to flight, and, being vigorouſly purſued, many fell, and more were taken priſoners. Fortunately however for the regulars, while on their retreat, they were reinforced by a ſtrong party, who by forced marches had advanced to their ſupport.

Encouraged by this ſeaſonable relief, they inſtantly made a halt; and the provincials who were in purſuit, were forced to fall back in their turn: but being rallied again by Col. Roſſelar, and reinforced by Maj. Stanten, the fight was again renewed, and continued till night, when under cover of the darkneſs the enemy eſcaped, leaving two braſs field-pieces and moſt of their heavy baggage behind them. Among the priſoners taken on this occaſion were two colonels

mortally

mortally wounded, and an aid-de-camp of Gen. Burgoyne's. Col. Skeene escaped by the goodness of his horse.

This engagement, though otherwise of great importance to the American cause, was of still more consequence in a national sense, as it gave occasion to a correspondence [39. 648.—650.] [inserted verbatim.] which tended to wipe off the reproach of inhumanity from the British army, which had gone forth, and had astonished all Europe. Lt-Col. Baum, who commanded the detachment, being wounded, and a prisoner in the American camp, Gen. Burgoyne was desirous of sending not only that officer, but all those whom the fortune of war had put on that occasion into the enemy's hands, all the succour in his power, and with that view wrote to Gen. Gates to permit the baggage and servants of the prisoners to pass to them unmolested.

Operations near Fort Stanwix and Bennington, as related by officers of the King's army.

Lt-Col. St Leger to Sir Guy Carleton, Oswego, Aug. 27. 1777.

A minute detail of every operation since my leaving La Chine, your Excellency will permit me to reserve to a time of less hurry and mortification than the present, while I enter into the interesting scene before Fort Stanwix; which I invested the 3d of August, having previously pushed forward Lieut. Bird, with thirty of the King's troops, and 200 Indians, under the direction of Capt's Hare and Wilson, and the Chiefs Joseph and Bull, to seize the lower landing-place, and thereby cut off the enemy's communications with the lower country. This was done with great address by the Lieutenant, though not with the effect I had promised myself, occasioned by the slackness of the Messasagoes. The brigade of provision-boats and ammunition I had intelligence of being arrived and disembarked before this party had taken post.

The 4th and 5th were employed in making arrangements for opening Wood-creek, (which the enemy with indefatigable labour of 150 men for fourteen days had most effectually choked up), and the making a temporary road from Pine-ridge, sixteen miles from the fort, for a present supply of provision, and the transport of our artillery. The first was effected by the diligence and zeal of Capt. Rouville, assisted by Capt. Herkemer, of the Indian department, with 110 men, in nine days; while Lieut. Lundy, acting as assistant-quartermastergeneral, had rendered the road in the worst of weather sufficiently practicable to pass the whole artillery and stores, with seven days provisions, in two days.

On the 5th, in the evening, intelligence arrived by my discovering parties on the Mohawk river, that a reinforcement of 800 militia, conducted by Gen. Herkimer, were on their march to relieve the garrison, and were actually at that instant at Oriska, an Indian settlement, twelve miles from the fort; the garrison being apprised of their march by four men, who were seen enter the fort in the morning through what was thought an impenetrable swamp.

I did not think it prudent to wait for them, and thereby subject myself to be attacked by a sally from the garrison in the rear, while the reinforcements employed me in front; I therefore determined to attack them on the march, either openly or covertly, as circumstances should offer. At this time I had not 250 of the King's troops in camp, the various and extensive operations I was under an absolute necessity of entering into, having employed the rest; and therefore could not send above 80 white men, rangers and troops included, with the whole corps of Indians.

Sir John Johnson put himself at the head of this party, and began his march that evening at five o' clock, and met the rebel-corps at the same hour the next morning. The impetuosity of the Indians is not to be described: on the sight of the enemy, forgetting the judicious disposition formed by Sir John, (which was to suffer the attack to begin with the troops in front, while they should be on both flank and rear), they rushed in, hatchet in hand, and thereby gave the enemy's rear an opportunity to escape. In relation to the victory, it was equally complete as if the whole had fallen; nay, more so, as the 200 who escaped only served to spread the panic wider. But it was not so with the Indians; their loss was great: I must be understood, Indian computation, being only about thirty killed and wounded; and in that number some of their favourite chiefs and confidential warriors were slain. On the enemy's side, almost all their principal leaders were slain; Gen. Herkimer has since died of his wounds. It is proper to mention,

tion, that the four men detached with intelligence of the march of the reinforcement, ſet out the evening before the action, and conſequently the enemy could have no account of the defeat, and were only in poſſeſſion of the time appointed for their arrival, at which, as I ſuſpected, the enemy made a ſally with 250 men towards Lieut. Bird's poſt, to facilitate the entrance of the relieving corps, or bring on a general engagement with every advantage they could with.

Capt. Hoyes was immediately detached to cut in upon their rear, while they engaged the Lieutenant. Immediately upon the departure of Capt. Hoyes, I learned, that Lieut. Bird, miſled by the information of a cowardly Indian, that Sir John was preſt, had quitted his poſt to march to his aſſiſtance. I marched the detachment of the King's regiment in ſupport of Capt. Hoyes, by a road in ſight of the garriſon; which, with executive fire from his party, immediately drove the enemy into the fort, without any further advantage than frightening ſome ſquaws, and pilfering the packs of the warriors, which they left behind them. After this affair was over, orders were immediately given to complete a two-gun battery, and mortar-beds, with three ſtrong redoubts in their rear, to enable me, in caſe of another attempt to relieve the garriſon by the continental troops, to march out a larger body of the King's troops.

Capt. Lernoult was ſent with 110 men to the lower landing-place, where he eſtabliſhed himſelf with great judgement and ſtrength, having an incloſed battery of a three-pounder oppoſed to any ſally from the fort, and another to the ſide of the country where a relief muſt approach, and the body of his camp deeply intrenched and abattied.

When by the unabating labour of officers and men (the ſmallneſs of our numbers never admitting of a relief of three hours ceſſation for ſleep or cooking) the batteries and redoubts were finiſhed, and new checks and axletrees made for the ſix-pounders, thoſe that were ſent being reported rotten and unſerviceable, it was found, that our cannon had not the leaſt effect upon the ſod-work of the fort, and that our royals had only the power of teaſing, as a ſix-inch plank was a ſufficient ſecurity for their powder-magazine, as we learnt from the deſerters. At this time Lieut. Glenie, of the artillery, whom I had appointed to act as aſſiſtant-engineer, propoſed a converſion of the royals (if I may uſe the expreſſion) into howitzers. The ingenuity and feaſibility of this meaſure ſtriking me very ſtrongly, the buſineſs was ſet about immediately, and ſoon executed; when it was found, that nothing prevented their operating with the deſired effect but the diſtance, their chambers being too ſmall to hold a ſufficiency of powder. There was nothing now to be done but to approach the place by ſap to a proper diſtance, that the rampart might be brought with their portée: at the ſame time all materials were preparing to run a mine under their moſt formidable baſtion. In the midſt of theſe operations, intelligence was brought in, by our ſcouts, of a ſecond corps of 1000 men being on their march. The ſame zeal no longer animated the Indians; they complained of our thinneſs of troops, and their former loſſes. I immediately called a council of the chiefs; encouraged them as much as I could; promiſed to lead them on myſelf, and bring into the field 300 of the beſt troops. They liſtened to this, and promiſed to follow me; and agreed, that I ſhould reconnoitre the ground propereſt for the field of battle next morning, accompanied by ſome of their chief warriors, to ſettle the plan of operations. When upon the ground appointed for the field of battle, ſcouts came in with the account of the firſt number ſwelled to 2000: immediately after, a third, that Gen. Burgoyne's army was cut to pieces, and that Arnold was advancing by rapid and forced marches with 3000 men. It was at this moment I began to ſuſpect cowardice in ſome, and treaſon in others: however, I returned to camp, not without hopes, with the aſſiſtance of my gallant coadjutor Sir John Johnſon, and the influence of the ſuperintending Colonels, Claus and Butler, of inducing them to meet the enemy. A council, according to their cuſtom, was called to know their reſolutions; before the breaking up of which, I learnt, that 200 were already decamped; in about an hour, they inſiſted that I ſhould retreat, or they would be obliged to abandon me. I had no other part to take, and hard it was to troops who could do nothing without them to yield to their reſolves; and therefore propoſed to retire at night, ſending on before my ſick, wounded, artillery, &c. down the Wood-creek, covering it by our line of march.

I now thought it time to call in Capt. Lernoult's poſt, retiring with the troops in camp to the ruined fort called *William*, in the front of the garriſon, not only to wait the enemy, if they thought proper to ſally, but to protect the boats from the fury of the ſavages; ſending forward Capt. Hoyes, with his detachment and one piece of cannon, to the place where Fort Bull ſtood, to receive the troops who waited the arrival of Capt. Lernoult. Moſt of the boats were eſcorted that night beyond Canada creek, where no danger was to be apprehended from the enemy, as the creek at this place bending from the road has a deep cedar ſwamp between. Every attention was now turned to the mouth of the creek, which the enemy might have poſſeſſed themſelves of by a rapid march by the Oneyda caſtle. At this place the whole of this little army arrived by twelve o'clock at night, and took poſt in ſuch a manner as to have no fears of any thing the enemy could do. Here we remained till three o'clock next morning; when the boats which could come up the creek arrived, and proceeded acroſs Lake Oneyda to the ruined fort of Brireton; where I learnt, that ſome boats were ſtill labouring down the creek, after being lightened of the beſt part of their freight by the Meſſaſagoes. Capt. Lernoult propoſed, with a boat full of armed men, to repaſs the lake that night, to relieve them from their labour, and ſupply them with proviſion. This tranſaction does as much honour to the humanity as to the gallantry of this valuable officer.

On my arrival at the Onondago Falls, I received an anſwer to my letter from Gen. Burgoyne, which ſhewed in the cleareſt light the ſcene of treachery that had been practiſed upon me: the meſſenger had heard, indeed, on his way, that they were collecting the ſame kind of rabble as before, but that there was not an enemy within forty miles of Fort Stanwix.

Soon after my arrival here, I was joined by Capt. Lernoult, with the men and boats he had been in ſearch of.

I mean immediately to ſend off, for the uſe of the upper garriſon, all the overplus proviſion I ſhall have after keeping a ſufficiency to carry my detachment down, which I mean to do with every expedition in my power. — [What became of this party afterwards does not appear.]

An account of an affair which happened near Walloon-creek, Aug. 16. 1777.

On the 15th of Auguſt, at eight o'clock in the morning, Sir Francis Clarke, aid-de-camp to Gen. Burgoyne, brought me the order to march immediately with the corps under my command, conſiſting of a battalion of grenadiers, one of chaſſeurs, one rifle-company, and two pieces of cannon, to the ſupport of Lt-Col. Baum.

I marched at nine o'clock; and, on account of the ſcarcity of carts, I put two boxes of ammunition upon the artillery-carts; each ſoldier carried forty rounds in his pouch.

The troops being obliged to ford Battenſeile, I was detained a conſiderable time by it; the number of hills, exceſſive bad roads, and a continued rain, impeded our march ſo much, that we ſcarce made half an Engliſh mile in an hour; each gun and ammunition-cart was obliged to be dragged up the hills one after another; one artillery-cart was overturned, and with the greateſt difficulty was put into a ſituation to proceed.

All theſe difficulties delayed us much; and, notwithſtanding every means was uſed, and no trouble or labour ſpared, it was not poſſible for me to march faſter. Our guide loſt his way, and, after a long ſearch in vain, Maj. Barner was obliged to look out for a man, who put us again in the right road.

All theſe accidents prevented me from reaching Cambridge the evening of the 15th, and I was therefore obliged to halt ſeven miles on this ſide of it, where the men lay upon their arms all night.

Before I came to the place where I halted, I wrote to Lt-Col. Baum, to acquaint him of my coming to his ſupport. Lieut. Hannerman went with this account, and from thence to Lt-Col. Baum's poſt, where he arrived at eleven o'clock at night; I received an anſwer the next morning. Early in the morning of the 16th I marched on; but as the artillery-horſes had had no food all the day before, and very little during the night, they were ſo weak as to be ſcarce able to drag the cannon; on which account our march was very ſlow.

Maj. Barner, with the advanced guard, was obliged to go forwards to preſs horſes, which we immediately made uſe of; and we continued our march as faſt as poſſible, till about two miles on the other

ther ſide of Cambridge, where I halted about half an hour to aſſemble the troops.

About two o'clock in the afternoon Col. Skeene ſent me two men, deſiring an officer and twenty men to take poſſeſſion of the mill at St Coyk, which the rebels intended poſſeſſing themſelves of.

Inſtead of the detachment which he aſked for, I ſent Capt. Gleiſſenberg, with the advanced guard, conſiſting of ſixty grenadiers and chaſſeurs, and twenty riflemen.

I followed with the column as faſt as poſſible: upon this march an ammunition-cart broke down.

At half paſt four o'clock in the afternoon I reached the mill, and found the advanced guard in poſſeſſion of it, and all quiet.

I muſt poſitively declare, that neither during the march, nor even after I reached the mill, did I hear a ſingle ſhot fired, either from ſmall arms or cannon.

Col. Skeene was at the mill; and as he gave me to underſtand that the corps of Lt-Col. Baum was not above two miles from me, I imagined I could not do better than puſh on to his ſupport. Col. Skeene was of the ſame opinion, and we marched on over the bridge near the mill, endeavouring to reach Col. Baum as ſoon as poſſible.

At this time I knew nothing of his engagement being over. If Col. Skeene knew it, I cannot conceive what his reaſons were for concealing it from me. If I had known it, I certainly ſhould not have engaged the enemy.

I had ſcarce paſſed the bridge 1000 yards when I perceived a conſiderable number of armed people, ſome in jackets, ſome in ſhirts, who were endeavouring to gain a height which was on my left flank.

I ſhewed theſe people to Col. Skeene; who aſſured me they were royaliſts, and rode up towards them, and called out; but received no other anſwer than a diſcharge of fire-arms. I immediately ordered Maj. Barner's battalion to move off towards the heights, the rifle company and grenadiers moving towards the right; and then began the attack, which laſted till towards eight o'clock.

The cannon were poſted on the road where there was a blockhouſe, which the rebels left as ſoon as they began to fire upon it.

Notwithſtanding freſh ſupport was conſtantly coming to them, they were driven from every height.

The troops did their duty, and every one concerned did the ſame. As all the ammunition was expended, and the cannon ceaſed firing, nothing was more natural than to expect that the enemy would renew the attack; which in fact was the caſe.

I haſtened with a number of men towards the cannon, in order to bring them off. On this occaſion the men received the moſt dangerous wounds, particularly Lieut. Spangenberg, ſome fire-workers, and ſome artillery: the horſes were all killed; and if even one had been alive, it would not have been poſſible to have moved him.

In order then not to riſk every thing, as I could not return the enemy's fire, as ſoon as it was dark I retired over the bridge; which I broke down, brought off as many of the wounded as I could, and, in company with Col. Skeene, arrived about twelve o'clock at Cambridge; where, after taking the neceſſary precautions, I remained all night; and the next day, the 17th, I arrived at the camp.

This is the beſt account I can give of this whole affair. The loſs of my cannon gives me the greateſt concern. I did every thing in my power to ſave them; but the want of ammunition prevented me, not only from returning the enemy's fire, but even from getting out of it. Many loſt their lives and limbs; and, could I have ſaved my cannon, I would with pleaſure have ſacrificed my life to have effected it.

BREYMAN, Lieutenant-Colonel.

Relation of the expedition to Bennington.

THERE being great difficulty in procuring horſes and carriages to tranſport the baggage and proviſions of the army, to remedy this great inconvenience, which retarded the movement of the troops, it was determined to ſend out a detachment, as ſoon as expedient, to bring in horſes for the above purpoſe, and to mount the Brunſwick dragoons, if a ſufficient number could be found. The army being aſſembled at Fort Edward, where it muſt neceſſarily halt a few days to tranſport the ſtores and proviſions over the carrying-place, Lt-Gen. Burgoyne took this opportunity of ſending out a detachment under the command of Lt-Col. Baum, who was to have the following troops with him, viz.

Brunſwick dragoons -	150
Captain Fraſer's light company -	50
Peter's Provincial corps -	150
Provincials and Canadian volunteers	56
Indians - - - -	100
	506

Gov. Skeene was alſo ſent with this detachment; from whoſe ſuppoſed knowledge of the country, and influence amongſt the inhabitants, much was expected.

By Lt-Col. Baum's inſtructions he was to proceed by Arlington, Manchester, &c. — Aug. 9. Lt-Col. Baum marched from Fort Edward with the dragoons to Fort Miller, where he was to receive, from the advanced corps under the command of Brig.-Gen. Fraſer, the remainder of the troops deſtined to make up this detachment.

Aug. 10. Obliged to halt, the Provincials and Indians intended for him being gone on to Stillwater: to make up this deficiency, 100 Germans were ordered from Lt-Col. Breyman's corps to join Lt-Col. Baum; ſome Canadians and Indians alſo joined him, but not ſo many as were firſt ordered.

Gen. Burgoyne this day changed the route firſt intended for the detachment, and ordered Lt-Col. Baum to march directly to Bennington, intelligence being received that the rebels had a conſiderable magazine there.

Aug. 11. Marched, and took poſt at Buton-Kill, oppoſite Saratoga.

Aug. 12. Proceeded to Cambridge. This day his advanced guard fell in with and defeated a party of rebels, took eight priſoners, 1000 buſhels of wheat, 150 bullocks, and ſeveral other articles, which he ſent back to camp. Here he was informed, that there were from 15 to 1800 of the enemy at Bennington, and that they had a very conſiderable magazine there, beſides 2000 bullocks and 200 horſes. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of his firſt attack, Lt-Col. Baum propoſed to march next day towards Bennington, and diſlodge the enemy from that poſt.

Aug. 13. He ſent every day exact reports of his progreſs and ſituation to Gen. Burgoyne, with which his Excellency was perfectly ſatisfied, and approved of his deſign of attacking Bennington, ſo ſoon as Lt Col. Baum was fully informed of the enemy's number and ſituation, and that it might be attempted with a proſpect of ſucceſs, and without running any riſk.

Aug. 13. The detachment marched out, and took poſt four miles on this ſide of Bennington.

Aug. 14. Lt-Col. Baum being ready to march off early in the morning, he was attacked by a body of 700 rebels; who, after having a few ſhot fired at them, retired and diſperſed.

By ſome priſoners taken upon this occaſion, and from ſome royaliſts who came in, Lt-Col. Baum was informed, that the enemy were ſtrongly intrenched at Bennington, that they expected a large reinforcement from the rebel-army, and intended to attack him as ſoon as the reinforcement had joined them.

On receiving this information the Lieutenant-Colonel very properly deferred his intention of puſhing on to Bennington, and halted in his poſt, ſending off an expreſs to inform Gen. Burgoyne of his ſituation, and deſiring that ſome troops might be ordered to ſuſtain him.

Aug. 14. His report was wrote in ſuch high ſpirits, that the General was induced to believe, that he aſked for a reinforcement more to enable him to attack the enemy, than from any apprehenſion of his corps being in danger of being attacked.

In conſequence of the above information, Lt-Col. Breyman was ordered to march with his corps (the battalion of grenadiers and Barner's battalion, about 500 men) and two pieces of cannon to ſuſtain Lt-Col. Baum; and an officer was ſent off to inform the latter, that Lt-Col. Breyman had begun his march early the 15th.

The diſtance between the two corps rendered this reinforcement uſeleſs to Lt-Col. Baum, as they could not get up time enough to ſupport him.

Aug. 15. Some ſmall parties were ſeen near Lt-Col. Baum's poſt, who always retired upon being fired upon. Accounts were alſo received, that the rebels expected every hour a large reinforcement from their army; however, Lt-Col. Baum, being aſſured that Breyman's corps were on their march to ſuſtain him, determined to maintain his poſt, notwithſtanding the great numbers of the enemy. He took every poſſible precaution, and poſted his detachment to the greateſt advantage.

Aug. 16. In the morning ſeveral bodies of men in arms were obſerved approaching

proaching his poſt. Lt-Col. Baum was aſſured they were royaliſts; but their number increaſing, he ordered out parties to reconnoitre, and ſoon perceived he was ſurrounded by the rebels from Bennington, reinforced by a large detachment from Mr Arnold's army. On a ſignal being made by the rebels about half paſt ten, he was attacked on all ſides by ſuperior numbers. He maintained his poſt above two hours, and often repulſed the enemy; but finding that his men had expended all their ammunition, and Lt-Col. Breyman's corps not yet appearing, he was obliged to think of a retreat with the dragoons, (the Provincials, Canadians, and Indians being already cut off from him). He twice forced his way through the enemy, and was as often attacked by freſh troops. As a laſt reſource, he ordered his men to draw their ſwords, and ruſh in upon the enemy; where, notwithſtanding every effort of bravery, this corps, overpowered by ſuperior numbers, was entirely broke, and we know not as yet what has been their fate.

Seven dragoons have eſcaped, and joined the army. It is ſaid, Lt-Col. Baum is wounded, and no doubt numbers of the officers and men are killed and wounded. The reports of thoſe who eſcaped early are ſo various and contradictory that there is no depending upon them. They all, however, agree, that the rebels were between 3 and 4000 ſtrong.

From the Rebel New-Jerſey Gazette.

Letter from Maj.-Gen. Robertſon to his Excellency Governor Livingſton.

SIR, *New York, Jan. 4. 1778.*

I am interrupted in my daily attempts to ſoften the calamities of priſoners, and reconcile their caſe with our ſecurity, by a general cry of reſentment, ariſing from an information ——

That officers in the King's ſervice taken on the 27th of November, and Mr John Brown, a deputy-commiſſary, are to be tried in Jerſey for high treaſon; and that Mr Iliff and another priſoner have been hanged.

Though I am neither authoriſed to threaten or to ſooth, my wiſh to prevent an increaſe of horrors will juſtify my uſing the liberty of an old acquaintance, to deſire your interpoſition to put an end to, or prevent meaſures, which, if purſued on one ſide, would tend to prevent every act of humanity on the other, and render every perſon who exerciſes this to the King's enemies odious to his friends.

I need not point out to you all the cruel conſequences of ſuch a procedure. I am hopeful you will prevent them, and excuſe this trouble from, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JAMES ROBERTSON.

N. B. At the moment that the cry of murder reached my ears, I was ſigning orders, that Fell's requeſt to have the liberty of the city, and Col. Reynold to be ſet free on his parole, ſhould be complied with. I have not recalled the order; becauſe, though the evidence be ſtrong, I cannot believe it poſſible a meaſure ſo cruel and impolitic could be adopted where you bear ſway.

To Wm Livingſton, Eſq; &c.

Governor Livingſton's Anſwer.

SIR, *Jan. 7. 1778.*

HAVING received a letter under your ſignature, dated the 4th inſt. which I have ſome reaſon to think you intended for me, I ſit down to anſwer your inquiries concerning certain officers, in the ſervice of your King, taken on Staten iſland, and one Browne, who calls himſelf a deputy-commiſſary; and alſo reſpecting one Iliff, and another priſoner, (I ſuppoſe you muſt mean John Mee, he having ſhared the fate you mention), who have been hanged.

Balkirk, Earl, and Hammel, who are, I preſume, the officers intended, with the ſaid Browne, were ſent to me by Gen. Dickenſon as priſoners taken on Staten iſland. Finding them all to be ſubjects of this ſtate, and to have committed treaſon againſt it, the council of ſafety committed them to Trenton gaol. At the ſame time I acquainted Gen. Waſhington, that if he choſe to treat the three firſt, who were Britiſh officers, as priſoners of war, I doubted not the council of ſafety would be ſatisfied. Gen. Waſhington has ſince informed me, that he intends to conſider them as ſuch; and they are therefore at his ſervice whenever the commiſſary of priſoners ſhall direct concerning them. Browne, I am told, committed ſeveral robberies in this ſtate before he took ſanctuary on Staten iſland, and I ſhould ſcarcely imagine that he has expiated the guilt of his former crimes by committing the greater one of joining the enemies of his country. However, if Gen. Waſhington chuſes to conſider him alſo as a priſoner of war, I ſhall not interpoſe in the matter.

Iliff was executed, after a trial by jury, for enlisting our subjects, himself being one, as recruits in the British army, and he was apprehended on his way with them to Staten island. Had he never been subject to this state, he would have forfeited his life as a spy. Mee was one of his company, and had also procured our subjects to enlist in the service of the enemy.

If these transactions, Sir, should induce you to countenance greater severities towards our people, whom the fortune of war has thrown into your power, than they have already suffered, you will pardon me for thinking that you go farther out of your way to find palliatives for inhumanity, than necessity seems to require; and if this be the cry of murder to which you allude as having reached your ears, I sincerely pity your ears for being so frequently assaulted with cries of murder much more audible, because much less distant; I mean the cries of your prisoners, who are constantly perishing in the gaols of New York (the coolest and most deliberate kind of murder) from the rigorous manner of their treatment. I am, with due respect, your most humble servant,

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

James Robertson, Esq; &c.

P. S. You have distinguished me by a title which I have neither authority nor ambition to assume. I know of no man, Sir, who bears sway in this state. It is our peculiar felicity, and our superiority over the tyrannical system we have discarded, that we are not swayed by men. —In New-Jersey, Sir, the laws alone bear sway.

From the Boston Gazette.

Lancaster, (Pennsylvania), Nov. 5. 1777.

Extract of a letter from Maj.-Gen. Gates to Congress, dated, Albany, Oct. 20. 1777.

SIR, Inclosed is the copy of a letter I have this day sent to Maj.-Gen. Vaughan; who, I am told, commands the burning party in Hudson's river. It goes by the boat that carries Gen. Burgoyne's officer to Sir William Howe. Such answer as I receive shall be sent to your Excellency.

"SIR, Albany, Oct. 19. 1777.

WITH unexampled cruelty you have reduced the fine village of Kingston to ashes, and most of the wretched inhabitants to ruin. I am informed you also continue to ravage and burn all before you, on both sides of the river.—Is it thus your King's Generals think to make converts to the royal cause? It is no less surprising than true, that the measures they adopt to serve their master, have the quite contrary effect. Their cruelty establishes the glorious act of independency, upon the broad basis of the general resentment of the people.

Able Generals, and much older officers than you can pretend to be, are now, by the fortune of war, in my hands;—their fortune may one day be yours; when, Sir, it may not be in the power of any thing human, to save you from the just revenge of an injured people. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, HORATIO GATES.

The Hon. John Vaughan, Major-General.

Published by order of Congress,

CHA. THOMPSON, Sec.

The Congress, on the 4th of November, ordered their thanks to Gen. Gates, and a medal of gold to be presented to him; also an elegant sword to be presented to Col. Greene, another to Lt-Col. Smith, and another to Commodore Hazelwood, for their successful efforts in support of the independency of America.

Charity to loyal sufferers.

WE the officers of the King's American regiment, hearing, with the tenderest compassion and concern, that the wives and children of such of his Majesty's American subjects as have voluntarily enlisted into the service of their most gracious sovereign, have, by the cruelest oppression and most avengeful injustice of committees and congresses, been plundered of their effects, and forcibly driven from their habitations, naked and destitute, at this inclement season of the year, to seek for protection and support, where the rebel-leaders barbarously hoped, and vainly supposed, it was not to be found, thinking by such acts of inhumanity and brutal severity towards unprotected and defenceless women and children, to intimidate and distress his Majesty's loyal American troops, and, if possible, to check the ardour of their zeal for his Majesty's service; We do hereby chearfully and unanimously contribute one week's pay, to be immediately laid out in purchasing provisions for such women and children belonging to our regiment, as already have been, or hereafter may be,

thus

thus savagely and cruelly treated; being firmly determined, as far as in our power, that this last execrable effort of expiring rebellion shall fail of its intended effect; at the same time looking forward with confidence to that hastening period when the law of retaliation shall take place, and the distribution of property most equitably reversed, in due compensation and reward to the loyal and virtuous adherents in America to the glorious cause of our king and country; yet under every contingency solemnly declaring, that we shall ever remain unshaken in our loyalty to the best of kings, and unalterably attached to the British government; fully convinced, as we have always been, that his Majesty's American subjects in his colonies were, while they retained their allegiance to their lawful sovereign the King of Great Britain, the happiest and freest people the sun ever shined on; and that the present is the most wanton and causeless rebellion the world ever knew.

Camp at King's-bridge, Dec. 28. 1777."

In the London gazette of March 17. there is a copy of a letter from Gen. Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated, Philadelphia, Jan. 19. viz.

"My Lord,

The present appearance of the weather encouraging me to hope the river will be sufficiently open in a few days to admit of a packet sailing, I have prepared my dispatches to this date, and shall send them off without waiting for the receipt of those from your Lordship by the Lord Hyde packet, which I am informed by Sir Henry Clinton arrived at New York on the 1st instant, and were detained upon a supposition that the navigation of this river would not be open for a ship of force, and not thinking it advisable to trust them in the packet, or in the armed vessel bringing the advice.

There has not any thing more material happened since the departure of Lord Cornwallis, who I requested to be the bearer of my last dispatches [13.], than the passing a considerable detachment of the army across the Schuylkill on the 2nd of December, to take post on the heights of Derby, in order to cover the collecting and transporting, by water as well as by land, a large quantity of forage which that country afforded. About 1000 tons were brought in, a quantity judged to be nearly sufficient for the winter-consumption; and the detachment returned on the 28th of December, without any further attempts from the enemy to retard the progress of the foragers, than from small parties skulking, as is their custom, to seize upon the straggling soldiers.— One of these parties, consisting of two officers and thirty men, were decoyed by two dragoons of the 17th regiment into an ambuscade, and made prisoners.

On the 30th and 31st of December the troops went into winter-quarters in this town, where they are well accommodated.

The enemy's army, excepting a detachment of 1200 men at Wilmington, is hutted in the woods near Valley Forge upon the Schuylkill, twenty-six miles from hence, and in a very strong position.

Col. Harcourt, who will have the honour of presenting these dispatches, has my leave to go to England upon his private affairs, to whom I beg leave to refer your Lordship for the fullest information that may be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Howe."

"*Philadelphia, Jan.* 30. Our army is in health, and eager for action; the rebels, with only 6000 men, are at Valley-Forge, in their huts; the weather for campaigning was never finer; the roads good; the air mild; no snow on the ground; there has been no winter; the river obstructed only a few days by some floating ice, which has driven several ships on shore on the Jersey side; and these have been destroyed by the rebels. 1200 men, under Sullivan, are at Wilmington; these with the 6000 under Washington, are all on whom we can depend; and they are well cloathed. Though the season be so favourable, we are here immersed in dissipation and pleasure. Plays, routs, and balls, in nocturnal rotation. No one pretends to account for the last six weeks inaction; but an universal murmur prevails amongst the officers, and the friends to government, who think, with one week's exertion, we might crush the rebellion. Provisions are plenty, and tolerably moderate. Goods are so plenty, that we shall be able to send you several cargoes. The Americans labour under great hardships, but they surmount them by having a free undisturbed trade from Charlestown to France."

PAR-

PARLIAMENT. [81.]

On the 9th of February Ld North gave notice in the Houſe of Commons, that he ſhould, on Tueſday, the 17th, lay before that Houſe ſome propoſals relative to America; and on the day appointed his Lordſhip offered a conciliatory propoſition, introducing it with the following ſpeech.

"The propoſition which I have the honour to offer to this Houſe, is for two acts of parliament. I will now open the contents of them fully, and will then refer them to a committee of the whole Houſe.

At the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, on the firſt day, during the debate upon the addreſs to his Majeſty, I told the Houſe, that, in my opinion, terms might be made with the colonies, ſhort of unconditional ſubmiſſion, and that the time of making them was the moment of victory. I ſaid this, thinking that the victory gained by Sir William Howe was more deciſive than it really was, and ignorant, at the time, of the diſaſter which had fallen on Gen. Burgoyne's army. When the news of that melancholy event arrived, I was ſtruck, that the time of propoſing terms was paſt, and that the firſt point to be done was the raiſing of new levies, and a new force. The conſequences of that misfortune were unknown: the general idea was, that the victorious army would march to Philadelphia, and that, flushed with victory, a general engagement might have happened, which would have been deciſive. I thought it neceſſary, therefore, to wait till the end of the campaign, till I had a knowledge of all the events of it. It is ended, and nothing deciſive has happened. The forces of Waſhington are not ſufficient to make him quit his defenſive plan. Our army is great, our navy is great, our men in health, in ſpirits, and well ſupplied; but the reſiſtance of America is greater, and the war has laſted longer than was at firſt apprehended, much longer than any friend to this country could wiſh, and I do not think it will end in this campaign. I think that our forces are ſufficient to compel America to accept of reaſonable terms; but I make my propoſition on this ground, that it is better to offer a conceſſion to the colonies now, which may end the conteſt within the year, than to continue the war for three or four years longer, though with the aſſurance of complete conqueſt. In the preſent ſituation of affairs, only three propoſitions can be made:

1. To ſtrengthen our force, and continue the war upon the preſent plan;
2. To recal it from America; and,
3. To offer terms of conciliation to her.

The firſt propoſition is attended with too great an expence of men and money; an expence which conqueſt itſelf would not balance. The ſecond is, to ſubſcribe to the independency of America. The third is that which appears to me to be the beſt and wiſeſt.—— I never thought of propoſing an ultimatum to America. In a conteſt which contains ſo many nice and difficult points, ſo many matters which demand future remedies, without any perſon preſent on the part of the colonies, that would be impoſſible and impracticable. Whatever you give, unleſs it is firſt ſettled and agreed on by perſons authoriſed by the colonies, might be given in vain. The danger alſo of publiſhing ſuch an ultimatum would be great: every word would be critically examined by jealous powers, and receive an invidious and falſe conſtruction, or unjuſt comment. Every propoſition would be blaſted before it reached America. If it got there entire, the colonies, by refuſing one condition, would deſtroy all. I wiſh, therefore, for an open conference with America. I think that there is ſo much affection ſtill left in that country toward this, that barely to enter on a diſcuſſion is more than half the buſineſs. My plan is to open ſuch a diſcuſſion. I ſhall therefore propoſe, 1ſt, An act of parliament to veſt commiſſioners with very ample powers for this purpoſe. The powers muſt be ample: limited powers can produce no good. They muſt be ample, as to the perſons with whom they treat, and as to the objects concerning which they treat. As to the perſons, the preſent commiſſioners have great powers; but the preſent act muſt be full, and clear, containing no doubt; no doubt whether they ſhall treat with the congreſs, with rebels, with perſons actually in arms; whether with a general aſſembly of all the colonies, or with the aſſembly of a particular colony. The only rule to guide the commiſſioners muſt be, whether the perſons with whom they treat, are authoriſed ſo to do. I ſhall therefore propoſe, that ſuch perſons ſhall be deſcribed in the moſt general words. There ſhould be no etiquette; the time for that is paſt. As to the

the objects of the treaty, they should be as generally described. The commissioners should be enabled to treat on all grievances existing, or supposed to exist, in the laws of the colonies, or in the statutes of this realm; on all matters, provisions, or things; and on all aids and future contributions to be furnished by the colonies; for I have reason to think, from the declarations of the colonies, that they are willing to contribute their share to the public support. This will make the tie stronger between us. Those who derive an advantage from a state, ought to contribute to the burdens of it. The execution of these powers must receive the subsequent sanction of parliament. But there are some points in which the opinion of the commissioners must prevail immediately, as the granting of general and particular pardons, or a cessation of hostilities. They must have also another immediate power more great and extensive, founded on the example of an act passed in the reign of Charles II. the power of suspending acts of parliament. The colonies have demanded to be put in the situation they were in in 1763. I doubt they will never be placed exactly in the same situation, but perhaps they may be placed in one not much less advantageous. The statutes since that year are many; many of them are beneficial to the colonies; many necessary for their dependence as to trade; and many ought to be repealed; all perhaps should be revised. I would give the commissioners full power to take them all into their consideration, and to suspend such as should be repealed. There is another provision, which is, perhaps, a matter of convenience only: they should have a power of appointing governors in these colonies, where his Majesty was used to appoint them. I shall propose to limit the duration of this act to June 1. 1779 —If I was to stop here, the plan would be certainly defective; defective in not offering an inducement to the colonies to treat with us. They must give up their claim of independency; but to induce them to do this, they must be certain of something fixed and decided. If it is necessary to hold out an inducement to all the colonies collectively, it is equally necessary to hold it out to each colony in particular. Though some may not renounce their independency, some may, and it will not be said, that if the commissioners cannot treat with all, they shall not treat with any. The colonies must have some other inducement than mere hopes. Before the war broke out, I offered a reconciliatory proposition to America: I offered it before the sword was drawn [37. 122.]. The ground upon which I made it was, that it was just that the colonies should contribute to the support of government, but that their taxation by parliament occasioned jealousies in them of our attempting to throw the burden off our own shoulders upon them, and of endangering the security of their assemblies. This proposition was unfortunate; it was rendered suspicious by the supposition of a variety of cases; it was misrepresented, or misunderstood. I thought it necessary to show them, that we were not fighting for taxation, for I never thought that such taxation would be very beneficial to us. The stamp was the best duty that could be laid; and even that would not have produced much, so great was the aversion to it. My intent in making this proposition was, to prevent the war, by preserving our rights, and freeing them from their jealousies. In many of the assemblies there was an inclination to have accepted it, but they referred it to the congress. The congress treated it as unreasonable, and insidious, and rejected it. War began, and my intention was, from the beginning, at the moment of victory, to have proposed the same proposition, in terms obviating all the misrepresentations and misunderstandings concerning it. The principal objections to it were, [37.487.]

1. That the colonies had a sole right of granting their own money. My proposition looked to a permanent revenue to be granted by them in the first instance. My idea was, that they should grant their own money in proportion to our grants, rising and falling with them.

2. That it was unreasonable, because the quantum was not ascertained; but their contribution was afterwards to undergo the revisal of parliament. This was not my idea; my intent was, that their proportion should be settled, and being settled, should always remain the same.

3. That it was insidious, because the ministry intended to get one colony to bid against another. I had no such intent. The congress might have settled what each colony should offer. I will now hold out to the colonies a cessation of the exercise of taxation, and I will not

not ſubject it to any conditions, or to the demand of any ſpecific contribution. My propoſition, therefore, is, an act of parliament, grounded on the jealouſies of the exerciſe of the right of taxation, and on their declarations of their being willing to contribute, to take away this exerciſe abſolutely, truſting to the negotiations of our commiſſioners for gaining contributions from the colonies: but I do not mean to make their grant a *ſine qua non*, but will declare, by an act of parliament, that for the future the parliament will not tax the colonies for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue; and if on account of commerce, that the money ſo raiſed ſhall be appropriated to the uſe of the colonies. I propoſe this, as an explicit declaration. —— It may be ſaid, Should not the colonies give up their claim of independency? The renunciation of that claim is implied in the act itſelf. It may be ſaid alſo, If you give up taxation, what is there left to fight for? I never thought taxation a ſufficient object for the conteſt, and upon this idea I made my propoſition before the war begun. But I fought for the dependence of America. The congreſs claimed independency. The colony of Maſſachuſet's-bay claimed it, and a great outrage was committed on our merchants. The war has coſt us more than any revenue which could have been raiſed from America by parliament. The conteſt was for ſupremacy.—But it may be urged, that conceſſions in time of war, of ſo public a nature, are dangerous. It is the misfortune of this war, involved in ſo many parliamentary points, to require public ſteps. The ſtate of our reſources is well known. This conceſſion cannot therefore, in this reſpect, be prejudicial to us. Our army and navy are great: our loſs can be repaired: the neceſſary ſupplies can be raiſed: and our cuſtoms are not much diminiſhed. But why was not conceſſion made before? I am willing that my paſt conduct ſhould be inſpected. I never propoſed any tax. When I was unfortunate enough (for I will ſtill uſe the word, notwithſtanding the uſe made of it) to be placed in my preſent office, I thought there was a gleam of hope, that the colonies would return to their duty. My maxim was to ſay nothing about America; neither to propoſe or repeal taxes: neither to advance or recede; but to remain in total ſilence. But when it was neceſſary to give the Eaſt-India company a power of ſelling their tea in America, I did not think it right to repeal the tax. I however diminiſhed it. A repeal would have been of no ſervice: for America was afraid, that the Eaſt-India company would underſell their ſmugglers. A monopoly was alſo urged. They had in fact the commodity cheaper than they had it before. If they deemed this a grievance, they were ready to make any thing a grievance! When the war was begun, I thought it neceſſary to accompany our forces with a pacific commiſſion; and the commiſſioners were men of abilities, men of honour, men of a pacific diſpoſition, men truſted by America, who were the moſt likely to bring about a reconciliation. But this commiſſion produced no effect, becauſe the claims of America were ſo diſtant.—When the ſword was drawn, why did I not make my propoſition? I own I thought that the war would ſoon have ended, and I ſhould have made it, had America been reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion; but misfortunes, miſconduct, or a greater natural force in America than was expected, and which no man could foreſee, have carried on the war to its preſent length. I will never own that adminiſtration has deceived the public, in wanting to delude them into meaſures which they thought were ineffectual. The information laid before parliament was full: parliament had every paper neceſſary to found its judgement: no papers were retained, but thoſe only, which, for the ſake of the writers, would have been dangerous to have expoſed. But the deception is, that adminiſtration ſaid, that in their opinion the war would ſoon be at an end. Our army and navy were great; Sir W. Howe's army was generally ſuperior to Waſhington's; and General Burgoyne's army, when at Fort Edward, was ſtronger than the enemy's force. Parliament knew the force ſent out as well as the miniſter. Miniſtry promiſed that the army ſhould be ſupplied: The army has been ſupplied. Miniſtry promiſed to raiſe the money neceſſary for the ſervices: The money has been raiſed. The public therefore have been deceived by the event.—It may be aſked, what is likely to be the effect of this propoſition? The real effect I cannot ſay, but it is a right thing to endeavour to bring about a peace. I do not ſee that any other conceſſion can be made

made without admitting the complete independency of America. But what would be the effect of that independency? I cannot see into futurity; but it is big with many possible evils. Independency, with a cordial love between us, is one thing; with an union with our enemies fatal. From their independency a danger arises from a great naval power; a danger also to our other possessions. I do not think that we should yield to it, till our resources are much lower. Independency is not beneficial to America. She cannot be so happy, so easy, cannot have such personal liberty, as if she remains dependent on us. If independent, she must be loaded with heavy burdens; more heavy than she had; her personal liberty will not be so great. Her present situation, as compared with ours, is ten times more grievous. Her farmers are ruined; when all the necessaries of life sell at prices the most high, they are compelled to sell the produce of their land at a small price in comparison. I was assured that at Albany, tea, a necessary article there, sold at 16 dollars per pound; and salt at 30 dollars per bushel. Thinking that men in this situation will be inclined to peace on just and reasonable terms, I move the House for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers, to treat, consult, and agree, upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America.

It was resolved, *nem. con.* to refer this proposition to the consideration of a committee of the whole House.

Though the going into a committee was agreed to *nem. con.* a debate or conversation ensued.

Mr Fox ridiculed the Noble Lord for having come over to his opinion after three years war; he congratulated his own party upon their acquisition, but reminded the House, that the same terms had been rejected by his Lordship two years ago, when proposed by an Hon. friend of his [Mr Burke]. He recounted the bad conduct of administration in being always too late. He then put it to the Noble Lord why this proposition had not come before adjournment; and asked, whether it had not been forced on now by the news from Paris. He said, he had not much access to good information, but what he was going to state was more than common report, "That ten days ago a treaty of commerce had been concluded with America by the court of Versailles, the conditions of which were, that France was to support America in her independence."

Mr T. Pitt spoke for peace. He did not explicitly agree with either side of the House, but thought our claims or intentions to tax America were given up by the repeal of the stamp-act.

Mr Adam argued, that they would not be accepted; and that the holding forth such terms at this time would dispirit the people, and would disgrace our government; that our allies would become lukewarm, and our enemies elated. He farther said, that the system now proposed (if accepted on the part of America) would in the end be ruinous to this country, as the contributions from thence would certainly prove inadequate to the expence we should be at in supporting and protecting them: besides, we were giving to America such important privileges, that these, togegether with the natural advantages of that country with respect to the high price of labour, and the quantity of land easily obtained and cultivated, must in a course of years draw multitudes of inhabitants from G. Britain and Ireland; and that the acts now proposed were in fact establishing high bounties for promoting emigration, to the disgrace of the legislature, and the destruction of this country. He therefore disapproved totally of the Noble Lord's proposition.

Mr Viner said, he regretted that his favourite object of taxation could not now be had; that he had ever thought that a proper and a just object; and while it continued the object, he was clear for carrying on the war: but that since this object no longer existed, and that America was united to a man, he agreed, that the sooner we could make peace the better; he was therefore ready to accede to the Noble Lord's proposition.

Gov. Johnstone said, he was glad to find that people were now come to their senses, and that the Noble Lord had at last found a proper opportunity of declaring his opinion; that he had always said, he was sure the Noble Lord knew and understood the subject of America as well as any man; and that his real opinion was against the war, and the object of the war. He hinted, that the

true means to be held out to the Americans for reconciliation, was to fund their paper in this country; and thought that the repeal of the acts obnoxious to America ought to be more explicit. He then entered into the queſtion of independence, and ſaid, he was ſure it was not the original aim of the Americans, and referred the houſe to an Hon. gentleman [Sir William Gordon] who knew that country.

This called up Sir William Gordon, who began with great good humour and wit, by railying his Hon. friend for deſcending to ſuch inferior game as him, when he had ſo often attacked with ſucceſs the greater game of the treaſury-bench; and concluded by ſaying, that, in his opinion, America had always meant independence.

Mr Rous next ſtated ſome facts to exculpate the Eaſt-India company in the affair of the tea-buſineſs.

Mr Baldwin ſaid, that he had all along been deceived; for that he had ever underſtood that taxation was the real object of the war with America.

Mr G. Grenville ſpoke for the propoſition, becauſe he wiſhed for peace, but doubted of its efficacy. He charged miniſtry with having deceived him in point of information. He concluded by informing the Houſe, that he had ſeen an extract of a letter from Dr Franklin, mentioning the treaty between America and the court of Verſailles.

Mr Burke then ſpoke to draw an anſwer from the miniſter relative to that treaty; as did Sir George Savile

This made Lord North declare, that he knew nothing of it, but by common report; and that the miniſters of France had denied it ſome time ago: but his Lordſhip's declarations did not amount to a poſitive denial of its exiſtence.

Mr Fox then obſerved, that the propoſition ſhould be made expeditiouſly, that France might not be beforehand with us.

Mr Baker concluded the debate by obſerving, that it was ſhameful, when we had an eſtabliſhment at Paris, and a repreſentative of his Majeſty, our information from that quarter ſhould be ſo bad.

The committee was inſtructed to conſider of the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes within theſe colonies, &c.

The Houſe immediately reſolved itſelf into a committee upon the propoſition; and after Mr Speaker had reſumed the chair, Mr Gaſcoyne, as directed by the committee, made two motions, for leave to bring in, 1. A bill to enable his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, &c. and 2. A bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of G. Britain concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes within his Majeſty's colonies, provinces, and plantations, in North America. Leave was given to bring in both bills; and Mr Gaſcoyne, Ld North, Ld George Germaine, the Attorney and Solicitor General, Sir Grey Cooper, Mr Robinſon, and Mr Eden, were ordered to prepare and bring them in.

On the 19th Lord North preſented both bills. Each was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time next morning, and to be printed.

On the 20th both bills were read a ſecond time, and committed for Monday; to which day the Houſe adjourned.

The order of the day being read, Feb. 23. to go into a committee on the bill to enable his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, &c. Mr Serjeant Adair moved, That it be an inſtruction to the committee, that they have power to make proviſion for nominating the commiſſioners by the bill. In ſupport of his motion, he ſaid, that this was no infringement on the prerogative of the crown; it is a commiſſion appointed by parliament, in order to treat about the moſt ſacred rights of parliament itſelf, the ſuſpending its laws, and the ſurrender of its rights, or of what it had always conſidered or had claimed as ſuch; that for the Houſe to give blindly ſuch a power out of their hands, to be exerciſed at the mere pleaſure of the crown, and by perſons to them utterly unknown, was in effect a complete ſurrender of the whole conſtitution of this country into the hands of the King; that therefore he thought himſelf bound to reſiſt this moſt unconſtitutional meaſure by every means in his power; that as to any difficulties which might be ſuppoſed in the execution of this mode of appointment, they had been all completely got over in the Eaſt India bill, where parliament had nominated commiſſioners for a matter of mere executive government, and one in which no parliamentary rights or powers were at all concerned; that he hoped, as himſelf, and the gentlemen in the late minority, had given and would give ſo clear a ſupport to the conciliatory meaſures

ſures of the miniſter, late as they were adopted, he alſo hoped the miniſter, on his part, would likewiſe act a fair and candid part with them, and not take them in for a dangerous extenſion of prerogative, whilſt they were joining him in an attempt to reſtore peace to the country.

The miniſters oppoſed this propoſition. Mr Wedderburne endeavoured to prove, that the powers given in that commiſſion could not be ſafely executed but by perſons appointed by the crown; that the crown had been intruſted with the appointment of commiſſioners to treat upon the union of the two kingdoms, and had had power to ſuſpend the acts of parliament which prevented the free trading intercourſe between the two kingdoms during the treaty; that they were ordered to keep the whole tranſaction ſecret, and that they had ſo kept it; that nothing could give a proper weight and ſupport to the commiſſioners but the perfect confidence which parliament ſhewed that they repoſed in government; that the nomination of commiſſioners in that Houſe would prove a thing clearly impracticable, on account of the indecent perſonal diſcuſſions that it would give riſe to; and he declared, that if that queſtion ſhould be carried, and the commiſſioners nominated by parliament, he would be againſt the whole commiſſion, the bill, and the plan they belonged to.

In ſupport of the motion, Mr Fox alledged, that nothing could ſo effectually defeat the purpoſe of the commiſſion, as the leaſt thought that parliament repoſed any confidence at all in the preſent ſervants of the crown; that this would be a perpetual ſubject of diſtruſt, jealouſy, and animoſity to them; that this miniſtry, or any perſons of their appointment, could not have any title to the confidence of America; the miniſters were all their declared enemies, and were only brought to a late and abject ſubmiſſion, by a failure in their attempts to oppreſs them by force; that the commiſſioners whom they appointed muſt accordingly be perſons of their own ſtamp and character, perſons who would be more ſolicitous to ſcreen miniſters than to ſerve their country, and qualified to irritate, rather than to appeaſe America; that the ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies was by his office to have the nomination of the commiſſioners; ſuppoſe the firſt part of the terms ſhould be the puniſhment of that very miniſter, would the perſons nominated by him be impartial commiſſioners, and fit for their duty, in ſuch a caſe? that he was aſtoniſhed at the inſolence of miniſters, who when they ſhould be in ſackcloth and aſhes, for the ruin which they have brought on their country, were preſumptuouſly making demands of unlimited confidence, and calling to have the few remaining powers which had been left to parliament, ſurrendered into their hands, and be diſpoſed of at their pleaſure.

Mr Burke ſaid, that the preſent was a queſtion of men; that the meaſure was decided upon, which was to give a full power to diſpoſe of all the legiſlative acts, and all the legiſlative powers of parliament, ſo far as they concerned America; that there never had been ſuch a truſt delegated to men, and that therefore nothing ever was more important than the proper choice of them;—that if miniſters had hitherto ſhown, in any one inſtance, that they had formed a right judgement on men, he would admit, that they ought to be truſted with the nomination of men upon this occaſion; that no good could come of any negotiation whatſoever intruſted to their hands; that the affair was not too little to be undertaken by parliament itſelf; if parliamentary rights muſt be negotiated upon, it was fit to be done by a committee of the two houſes of parliament; that in order to ſettle India affairs, a committee of the Houſe had ſat [34. 408.] in Leadenhall ſtreet; they might as well ſit in America, the object is more important, if the diſtance be greater; that he ſaw the drift of the whole; the miniſters thought to pay their court, by extending the prerogative, in proportion as they had leſſened the empire; and that this war (which was pretended to be made to prevent the King's having a revenue in America independent of parliament, and to aſſert the power of the Houſe of Commons to tax all the Britiſh dominions) now terminated in a ſurrender of our right of taxation, and of all other parliamentary rights to the crown.

Gov. Johnſtone ſupported the ſame ſide with great energy. He expoſed the weakneſs of the argument drawn from the ſuppoſed impoſſibility of diſcuſſing the merits of commiſſioners in that Houſe; ſaid, that it had not delayed the bill for regulating the Eaſt-India company, for

that the clauſe appointing the commiſſioners had been poſtponed until the reſt of the bill was finiſhed. He ſaid, that the commiſſioners ought to be men of great weight; perſons if not well, at leaſt not ill, affected to the Americans; men who were known to have an opinion of their own, not merely looking towards the court.

Mr Thomas Pitt ſeemed not to think it very material, whether the commiſſioners were named by the crown, or by the Houſe; but was of opinion, that they would be more reſponſible if they were named by the crown. He hoped, that as they had proceeded ſo far with ſo much unanimity, that they would not divide, except upon the moſt eſſential points.

Lord John Cavendiſh ſpoke ſomething to the ſame effect, but ſeemed to think the difference between ſending out commiſſioners by the crown or parliament was much more important; but he conſidered alſo the expediting theſe bills to be ſo neceſſary, that he would have nothing ſtarted in the way of that object; that the miniſters had threatened the minority with the rejection of their own plan of reconciliation, if they were not to have it exactly in their own way; that the public would eaſily ſee who was the true mother of the child, by the care of preſerving it.

The queſtion was put, and the motion rejected. Although the numbers in ſupport of it would probably have been conſiderable, Mr Serjeant Adair did not chuſe to divide the Houſe.

Then Mr Powys moved, to inſtruct the committee, to receive a clauſe to repeal the act 14° Geo. III. "for the better regulating the government of the province of the Maſſachuſet's-bay." This brought on a long converſation. The point in debate was, as to the time, whether that and ſome other obnoxious acts, ſhould be repealed now, previous to a treaty, or hereafter, in conſequence of a treaty. On a diviſion, the numbers were, Ayes (for an immediate appeal) 108; Noes (for leaving it to the commiſſioners) 181.——The committee then ſat for ſome time.

On a motion made next day, leave was given to bring in a bill for repealing the aforementioned act; and Meſſ. Powys, Feilde, Pownal, Fr. Montagu, Burke, Th. Townſhend, Byng, Dunning, Hartley, Popham, Baker, Fox, and Serj. Adair, Sir George Savile, Col. Barré, Sir George Yonge, Ld John Cavendiſh, and the Marquis of Granby, were ordered to prepare and bring it in. —The committee on the bill for appointing commiſſioners then ſat again for ſome time.

The bill to repeal the Maſſachuſet's-bay act was preſented by Mr Powys next day; and it was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time.

On a motion made by Mr Powys the ſame day, the act 7° Geo. III. "for granting certain duties in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America" [29. 322.], was read; and he moved, That the committee on the declaratory bill ſhould be inſtructed to receive a clauſe to repeal ſo much of the ſaid act as impoſes a duty on tea imported from G. Britain into any colony or plantation in America.

Mr Powys obſerved, that if miniſters were in earneſt, they would moſt certainly repeal ſome parts of that act: for the preamble of it contained the ſtrongeſt aſſertion of the right of this country to tax America; to talk, therefore, of giving up taxation, while that act remained unrepealed on our ſtatute-books, was to the laſt degree ridiculous.

Mr Attorney-General ſpoke long and ably againſt the motion; but his arguments were ſupported on the idea, that the colonies would not accept of any terms, though ever ſo favourable.

Mr Fox anſwered the laſt ſpeaker. He ſaid, "You leave that act as a ſtumbling-block on your ſtatutes: can you ſeriouſly mean to treat, while that ſtands which is the moſt full aſſertion of the very matter in iſſue? Though all dignity of parliament, all national dignity, and miniſterial firmneſs, be abandoned and gone; for God's ſake, let us preſerve ſome decency and regularity in our proceedings. We have been impoſed on; the public has been deluded; let us, however, not cheat ourſelves into a belief, that becauſe we declare our intentions not to tax America, that America is to believe us, while an act ſtands unrepealed which contradicts that declaration in the moſt direct terms."

Mr Powys then ſpoke at large to the queſtion, and contended, if his motion was not agreed to, that ſuch refuſal would damn all the proceedings and attempts towards conciliation.

The committee were impowered to receive

receive ſuch a clauſe as was propoſed; and were likewiſe impowered to extend the proviſions of the bill to his Majeſty's colonies and plantations in the Weſt Indies.—Then the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the declaratory bill, Mr Bamber Gaſcoyne in the chair.

Mr Burrel ſaid, that no member preſent wiſhed more ſincerely for peace with America than he did; but he feared the preſent bills, ſo far from effecting ſo deſirable a purpoſe, would tend to defeat it. A ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the opening of the American ports, would only enable America to diſpoſe of her produce to recruit her loſſes, to make alliances, to open a commerce with other powers. On theſe general grounds, therefore, he was totally againſt any meaſure which might promiſe to put America in a ſituation to render herſelf independent.

Mr Morton (chief juſtice of Cheſter) ſaid, if he ſhould be fixed upon as a commiſſioner to go on the preſent diſgraceful errand, (which he hardly thought), he had his doubts but that they would do him the honour to tar and feather him. He ſolemnly affirmed, that before he would give up taxation, he would cheerfully conſent to relinquiſh the colonies entirely; for he was clearly of opinion, and ever ſhould, that taxation and legiſlation were in effect the ſame; could not be ſeparated either in idea or exerciſe; and, of courſe, muſt ſtand or fall together.

Ld Beauchamp replied, that the real or fictitious diſtinctions between legiſlation and taxation did not properly form the queſtion before the committee; but whether it was wiſe and expedient to relinquiſh and concede the claim of taxation, in order to ſecure the dependency of the colonies: the learned gentleman was miſtaken in ſaying, that the claim of taxation included that of legiſlation; the contrary was the fact. The ſuperior right might be preſerved, and an inferior one included in it given up. On the whole, though it could not ſo well make a part of the bill, it was intended to inſtruct the commiſſioners, not to treat till the vote of independency ſhould be reſcinded. Indeed the very nature of the bills imported ſo much.

Mr Potter ſpoke in favour of the conciliatory bills. He obſerved, the whole tenor of them was conditional; and if of courſe they produced no good, they could be productive of no injury.

Sir Richard Sutton ſpoke on the ſame ſide. He ſaid, commiſſioners and congreſs might treat, as the Spaniards and Hollanders did. The queſtion of independency was always waved; the parties previouſly agreed not to mention it; and when the whole was finiſhed, then the reſpective rights of each country were formally acknowledged.

Gen. Fraſer (ſon to the late Lord Lovat) ſpoke a conſiderable time, and, conſidering his not being accuſtomed to deliver his ſentiments in public, acquitted himſelf with credit. He began with obſerving on the evil policy of the repeal of the ſtamp-act, and took a review of the meaſures of the ſeveral adminiſtrations from that time to the preſent. He ſaid, he entertained a very high opinion of the Noble Lord who preſided at the head of the treaſury at the time of the repeal [Lord Rockingham] as well as the Rt Hon. member [Mr Dowdeſwell] who then occupied the poſt of chancellor of the exchequer; but however great their abilities or integrity might have been juſtly rated, he thought the meaſure extremely wrong, and was the great ſource of our diſputes with America. The colonies had received the ſtamps in ſome places, and were inclined to ſubmit to the tax in general, if the repeal had not only quenched that diſpoſition towards obedience, but laid the foundation of every thing which followed after. He next ſpoke of the conduct of the inhabitants of Boſton, relative to the tea, and condemned it very highly. It was urged in their defence, that the deſtroying of the tea was the act of a rabble; but for his part he could not believe it: he was of opinion, that the riot proceeded from a general inclination to reſiſt the law; and the principal inhabitants, if they diſapproved of it, could have readily brought the offenders to juſtice. He did not chuſe ſo much to look back, as ſee what was proper to be now done. In that view of the queſtion, he thought, if America refuſed the preſent offers, this country ought to exert herſelf to the utmoſt, and riſk every thing; even to that of carrying on a perpetual war.

Mr Solicitor-General ſpoke very fully, as to the matter of conſtitutional law involved in the queſtion, and took an opportunity, in the opening of his ſpeech, to paſs the higheſt compliments on his countryman; ſaying emphatically, "he ſhould be glad to hear him often."

Mr

Mr T. Townſhend, in reply to Gen. Fraſer, pointed out his miſtake, and general miſinformation. He adverted to ſeveral defects in the bill before the Houſe. "When (ſaid he) your commiſſioners have cauſed hoſtilities to ceaſe by ſea and land; what will become of your navigation act? for ſuppoſe, contrary to the proviſions of the act, an American ſhip ſhould be found trading, and be made prize of; then the colonies will tell you, that you have broke the truce, and hoſtilities will recommence on their part.

Mr Burke ſeemed to diſſent from the laſt Hon. Gentleman. He ſaid, till matters were ſettled by previous treaty, every thing muſt continue to remain in confuſion; when that event ſhould take place, then the ſecurities and ſanctions on both ſides would be equal.

Ld North, after particular explanations, ſaid, the bill was not to have any operation unleſs America ſhould acknowledge itſelf ſubordinate and dependent.

When Mr Speaker had reſumed the chair, Mr Gaſcoyne reported, that the committee had made ſeveral amendments; which he read, and, with the bill, delivered in. Both were ordered to be printed.

The committee on the bill for appointing commiſſioners then ſat, made amendments, gave in their report, and that bill with the amendments, was likewiſe ordered to be printed.

The report concerning the bill for appointing commiſſioners was taken into further conſideration on the 26th. The amendments, with an amendment to one of them, were agreed to, and ſeveral amendments were made by the Houſe: and the bill, with the amendments, were ordered to be ingroſſed.—The report concerning the declaratory bill was likewiſe taken into further conſideration, the amendments agreed to, and the bill and amendments ordered to be ingroſſed.

On the 2d of March, both theſe bills, and likewiſe that for repealing the Maſſachuſet's-bay act, (this laſt having by that time gone through the uſual forms), were read a third time, paſſed, and ſent to the Lords; the title of the declaratory bill having been altered by a reſolution of the Houſe [159.].—Sir Grey Cooper was ordered to carry the two firſt bills to the Lords, and Mr Powys the laſt.

The three bills were returned by the Lords on the 9th of March, without any amendment, and they received the royal aſſent on the 11th. [159.].

NEW BOOKS. [104.]

Letters to the King, from an old Patriotic Quaker, lately deceaſed. 2 *s.* 6 *d. ſewed.*

Baldwin. [Publiſhed about Feb. 1.]

THat theſe letters are not the production of a Quaker pen, is evident, becauſe they are not written in the Quaker ſtyle; although a ſolemnity and plainneſs of manner is ſometimes, not uniformly, aſſumed. The author frequently mentions *the brethren*; but this is rather the language of the Moravians; the Quakers uſually ſay, *the friends.*

Excluſive, however, of manner, if this book be conſidered with reſpect to its matter, much may be ſaid in its commendation. The author gives his Majeſty a great deal of good counſel, under the following, among other important heads:—on the delicate ſituation of princes;—on religion, as it operates in ſociety;—on our national proſperity at the commencement of the preſent reign;—on the preſent war in America;—the importance of a prince's underſtanding the real condition of his people;—probability of a French war;—the principle of reſiſtance inherent in the Engliſh conſtitution; the diſtreſsful ſituation to which we are reduced;—the improbability of ſubjugating the rebels;—the neceſſity of an immediate accommodation;—the moſt politic meaſures to be adopted on the ſuppoſition that we may be conquerors, &c. &c. M.

We give ſome extracts.—The correſpondence begins thus.

"To George the Third, King of Great Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging, one of the people called Quakers wiſheth all happineſs in ſoul, body, and eſtate.

Patriots dictate to kings, and I aſſume the name, merely that my advice may have the more dignity and weight. Nor do I approach the throne either with fear or trembling, but with a heart full of confidence in thy docility and attention."

The meaſures to be adopted on ſuppoſition we were conquerors he propoſes thus.

"Notwithſtanding all impediment, ſhould our troops have the good fortune to prove victorious at laſt, it would only be exchanging one inconvenience for another. The difficulty of introducing new regulations, of managing the refractory ſpirit of a people whoſe ſenſe of liberty can never be obliterated, and of reconciling

reconciling with the genius of the Britiſh conſtitution ſuch a ſtanding force as is neceſſary to enſure their obedience, appears to me totally inſurmountable. Beſides, the languid trade extorted from them; their dexterity and vigilance in evading every commercial impoſt, proſcription, or penalty; their perpetual and unavoidable complaints, petitions, and remonſtrances, againſt the rapacity and oppreſſion of thy ſervants, and the ſullen diſcontent of their numerous adherents in this capricious country, are the inevitable conſequences of ſuch a problematical event.

But from a view of things ſo extremely afflicting, it is not unnatural to turn aſide: perhaps the reverſe of the picture may afford another and a better proſpect. Indeed the novelty of it, apart from every idea of reality, muſt render it an object of ſome attention and amuſement. For there are few minds to whom it is not always much more comfortable to indulge pleaſing fictions than to contemplate diſagreeable truths.

Were the rebels totally in our power, their union among themſelves, and their attachment to one common cauſe, whatever our ideas of that cauſe ſhould be, intitle them, on our account as well as theirs, to the moſt generous treatment. Nor can we loſe any of our own honour by thus conſulting and cheriſhing theirs. They were once part of that great family of which thou art head. They are ſtill the deſcendents of our forefathers, and conſequently have a claim on thy indulgence, as parent and protector of the whole. Their diſloyalty is raſh and unnatural, but they thought themſelves illuſed. Their complaints were heard with impatience, and their petitions rejected with indelicacy. Such a treatment amounts not to a full vindication, but greatly alleviates the criminality of their conduct. Be perſuaded, that majeſty without mercy, is an object of terror, not of confidence: nor by any means whatever, as the honour of thy crown, the peace of thy mind, and the affections of thy ſubjects are dear to thee, let their obſtinacy provoke thee in a ſingle inſtance to forget, that clemency is the only thing that can ſoften dominion to the brave, or reconcile them to a temporary ſlavery.

Such lenient meaſures, eſpecially if ſubſequent to a ſucceſsful campaign, are by much the moſt likely means of reclaiming the alienated hearts of the colonies. Nothing is ſo commanding, becauſe nothing is ſo engaging, as that magnanimity which is the only legitimate and inconteſtable indication of greatneſs and benignity. We are betrayed by the benevolent and good-natured into a full and implicit ſurrender of our whole ſouls. In their preſence we throw aſide every maſk, and inſenſibly become preciſely what nature made us. I have ſeen a criminal before his judge confront the ſtrongeſt evidence with matchleſs audacity, whom, notwithſtanding, one kind expreſſion, has confounded, and melted into the ampleſt confeſſion of his guilt. They know but little of human nature who think that men can be menaced and hectored into confidence or acknowledgement; and conſult their own dignity moſt miſerably, who in all ſuch caſes have recourſe only to ſeverity. Humanity, and humanity alone, poſſeſſes an immediate acceſs to the hardeſt heart. And when once relenting ſenſations are indulged, whatever has the leaſt appearance of recrimination, is wantonneſs and cruelty. The moſt general and unconditional remiſſion is the only expedient that can ever recal thy revolted ſubjects to reaſon and allegiance: leave them to ruminate on what they have done. Their own feelings will ſufficiently chaſtiſe them.

Doubt not but the native conſequence of ſuch a temper will be the moſt univerſal and voluntary exertion on their part to make us all the reſtitution in their power. Our injuries will then ſtrike them ſtill more forcibly than they have yet ſtruck us. They will upbraid themſelves with ingratitude in proportion as they find us diſpoſed to forgive them. They will ſee all our meaſures in quite another light, than that in which they have hitherto ſeen them. They will return to their duty, like the prodigal, with ſuch a conſciouſneſs of demerit, ſuch reſolutions of amendment, and ſuch principles of fidelity, as ſhall do honour to our good opinion of them, and attach them more inviolably to our intereſt than ever. In ſhort, our ſpirits ſhall revive with the happy return of their trade, and their alliance muſt add new power, new ſplendor, and new ſecurity to the ſtate.

Thus, leaving the whole of their internal and external policy to their own diſcretion, we ſhall get free of a moſt troubleſome

troubleſome and expenſive buſineſs. Give them, by all means, what advice they think proper to aſk, but in no caſe whatever aſſume the province of dictators. They will expect, while they conſult thee with confidence, to be treated with delicacy. Nor doubt that a cordiality, thus reciprocally open and ſincere, can be ſhaken, either by the petulance of individuals, or the interference of enemies. Indeed, our mutual intereſts, thus compacted into one indiviſible ſyſtem, would prove our beſt and moſt durable defence, both againſt civil commotion and foreign depredation.

The manifold advantages that muſt ariſe to the colonies from ſuch a vaſt acceſſion of revenue as this new arrangement muſt produce, are ſo very obvious and material, that I will venture to aſſert, they ſhall not hazard the propoſal without offering ſome equivalent. What that may be, it is not for me to determine: had we been ſo provident as to think of it before things became thus deſperate, they would have ſtruck a bargain at almoſt any price; and perhaps it was the only probability we could ever have of diſcharging the national debt. It ſtrikes me as an object they would ſtill very gladly embrace on any terms. On it their commercial proſperity entirely depends. A free intercourſe with all the world would increaſe their number and augment their ſtrength amazingly. Every court in Europe would then ſolicit their alliance, and encourage their orders. A new ſpirit of emigration would ſpread and diffuſe itſelf through all the ſtates on the ancient continent: and few of them would chuſe to check it too formally, leſt their colonial cuſtomers ſhould take offence. By a communication ſo liberal and extenſive, opportunities would offer in abundance for all who wiſhed to viſit the new hemiſphere. This conſtant intercourſe would in time leſſen the length of the voyage, or at leaſt moderate the dread of it; and adventurers would leave their native countries with the leſs reluctance, that they could ſtill correſpond ſo eaſily and frequently with their acquaintance and friends.

It is not without variety of the moſt joyous ſenſations that I thus anticipate the endearing bleſſing of peace. I feel for the wretched multitude, who, at the expence of their all, their lives, and, what is ſtill dearer to honeſt men than life, their duty, are made the ſervile and ſavage tools of indignant pride and aſpiring villany. How many innocent, undeſigning, and induſtrious families, in the vicinity of either camp, are unavoidably expoſed to the moſt barbarous and brutal uſage! How precious and ſalutary would not the news of reconcilement to them be! There is nothing in or about thee, that is to me the leaſt object of envy, but the power of thus announcing what would communicate ſo much delight to millions. Every good heart in thy dominions, however juſtly incenſed with many particulars of their conduct, would then participate their happineſs with rapture. The whole Britiſh territories would reſound with grateful acclamations to the ſovereign ruler of the univerſe, for the ſingular indulgence of a conſtitution ſo mild and free, of a prince ſo liberal and benign. I myſelf, tranſported with a laudable enthuſiaſm, would chearfully forego the lethargy of years, and attempt, however unequal for the taſk, a panegyric on thy virtues. Thy unexampled patriotiſm, ſo ſuperior to the ſelfiſh ſyſtem of kings, would ſtrike the world with admiration and applauſe; and ages yet to come, would celebrate the ſplendid memory of thy reign with every poſſible demonſtration of affection and gratitude."

London.

Religion, Morality, Controverſy, &c.

Fifty ſermons on various ſubjects, critical, philoſophical, and moral. By Samuel Bourne. 2 vols. 10 s. 6 d. boards. *Robinſon.*——The different ſermons in this collection are ſhort, but it is a pregnant brevity that diſtinguiſhes them. The diviſions are natural; uſeleſs digreſſions are avoided; and by this means the author has crowded a great ſhare of good ſenſe into a narrow compaſs. We may add, that theſe, like Mr Bourne's former diſcourſes, are well calculated for the uſe of private families. M.

Letters on the prevalence of Chriſtianity, before its civil eſtabliſhment: with obſervations on a late hiſtory of the decline of the Roman empire. By Eaſt Apthorp, M. A. vicar of Croydon. 5 s. ſewed. *Robſon.*——Mr Apthorp has here ſtated only a ſingle argument for the truth of Chriſtianity, drawn from the prevalence of this religion over Gentiliſm in its higheſt degree of ſplendor and authority.—The firſt letter gives the reader a general view of the great controverſy concerning the truth of Chriſtianity. The ſecond conſiſts of obſervations on the compoſition, the

the ſtudy, and the uſe of hiſtory. In the third the author endeavours to repreſent the peculiar characteriſtics of the firſt ages of the Chriſtian æra, and of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries; he points out the cauſes and effects of modern irreligion; refutes ſome objections which have been urged againſt revealed religion; and, in order to evince the inſufficiency of the moſt cultivated reaſon, in diſcovering the firſt principle of religion, he gives us a ſhort analyſis of Cicero's treatiſe on the nature of the Gods. In the fourth letter, which is the laſt in this volume, he conſiders the origin of idolatry, the eſtabliſhed religion of Egypt, Perſia, Carthage, and Greece, the Gothic and Celtic ſuperſtitions, the religion of Rome, the ſtrength and ſplendor of Gentiliſm, its temples, prieſthood, victims, ſtatues, worſhip, and other circumſtances. As the fate and fortune of Chriſtianity were for ſeveral ages very intimately connected with the Roman empire, he gives us a general view of the religion of Rome, from the foundation of that city to the reign of Auguſtus. —The author adds ſome remarks on the flattering picture of Heatheniſm drawn by the author of a late hiſtory on the decline of the Roman empire, and then concludes this volume; intending in the ſequel to obviate the ſeveral objections to primitive Chriſtianity advanced in that hiſtory, to repreſent the arduous conteſt, ſuſtained by the Chriſtian religion againſt the idolatrous eſtabliſhment, for near 400 years, and terminated by the ſubverſion of Paganiſm under Theodoſius the Great. C

Letters to the Rev. Dr Worthington, in anſwer to his late publication, intitled, *An impartial enquiry into the caſe of the goſpel-demoniacs* [39 545.]. By Hugh Farmer. 3 s. 6 d. ſewed. *Robinſon.* —— They who have read the Eſſay on Demoniacs with approbation, will be equally pleaſed with theſe Letters, as they bring the argument into a narrower compaſs, preſent it under different views, and confirm it by many additional obſervations. C.

Du Bonheur. Par M. Deferres de la Tour. 3 s. *Cox.* —— This eſſay on happineſs is, properly ſpeaking, a treatiſe on education. It is written in a ſprightly, entertaining manner, and, though it contains little that is new, abounds with manly and liberal ſentiments. The author ſhews, that happineſs is only to be found in the paths of religion and virtue; and that the genuine ſources of felicity are, the LOVE OF GOD, and the LOVE OF OUR NEIGHBOUR. M.

A letter from a father to a ſon on his marriage. 1 s. *Dilly.* —— Written in a rough and unpleaſing ſtyle, but contains ſome good advice. The points treated of are, the folly of diſputing about the prerogatives of a huſband, the good effect of delicacy in his perſon and dreſs, the beſt way of diſengaging a ſprightly young woman from the immoderate purſuit of pleaſure, the proper conduct of a huſband where the wife is unreaſonably ſuſpicious, and other points of this nature. C.

The neceſſity of divine revelation; or, Reaſon no guide to man. 6 d. *Law.* —— The arguments of this profound writer tend to prove, that eyes are of no ſervice to ſight.—In proportion as theſe reaſoners againſt reaſon are able to maintain their cauſe, they, like the mad monarch of Sweden, ruin themſelves by their own victories. M.

A reply to the reaſonings of Mr Gibbon, in his hiſtory of the decline and fall of the Roman empire; which ſeem to affect the truth of Chriſtianity, but have not been noticed in the anſwer which Dr Watſon hath given to that book. By Smyth Loftus, M. A. vicar of Coolock. 1 s. *Bew.* —— Contains many obſervations that ſhew the author to be a man of ſenſe and learning. M.

A letter to the remarker on the layman's ſcriptural confutation. Wherein the divinity of the Son of God is farther vindicated againſt the remarker's exceptions. To which is added, an appendix, taking ſome notice of Mr Lindſey's ſequel. By Thomas Randolph, D. D 2 s. 6 d *Rivington.* —— Fraught with all that learning by which Dr R. hath diſtinguiſhed himſelf in former vindications [37 323.] of the doctrine of the Trinity. M.

The houſe of God opened, and his table free for Baptiſts and Pædobaptiſts, who are ſaints and faithful in Chriſt; or, Reaſons why their different ſentiments about water-baptiſm ſhould be no bar to church fellowſhip with each other: the principal objections anſwered. Alſo an illuſtrative dialogue and an incidental narrative. By John Brown. 6 d. *Johnſton* —— Every diſcovery of a charitable and candid ſpirit is pleaſing and laudable. Not indeed that charity, falſely ſo called, which is nothing more than indifference to all religion; but that charity which accompanies true piety, and is founded on the generous principles of the goſpel. Such a ſpirit Mr Brown manifeſts in regard to the ſubject of baptiſm. He writes in a plain but ſenſible manner, and enforces his ideas with proper fervor, as well as ſtrength of argument. M.

Hiſtory, Law, &c.

Travels into Dalmatia. In a ſeries of letters from Abbé Alberto Fortis, to the Earl of Bute, the Biſhop of Londonderry, John Strange, Eſq; &c. &c. Illuſtrated with twenty copperplates. 1 l. 1 s. boards. *Robſon.* —— The Abbé Fortis evidently appears to be an accurate and judicious obſerver, and the perſpicuity of his deſcriptions in thoſe ſeveral letters, is rendered yet more explicit by the number of beautiful plates with which the volume is ornamented. C.

The hiſtory and antiquities of the counties of Weſtmoreland and Cumberland. By Joſeph Nicolſon, Eſq; and Richard Burn, LL. D. 2 vols. 2l. 2s. boards. *Cadell* —— It is always with pleaſure that we obſerve the cultivation of provincial hiſtory; which is productive of many advantages. The circumſtantial evidences it naturally affords, are ſo many illuſtrations of national hiſtory. The deſcent of families, and of property, not only becomes better and more generally known, but obtains a permanency which muſt otherwiſe have been loſt. The manners, and even the language, of different ages, in diſtinct provinces, are diſcovered in ancient writings and records. We ſee the various effects of climate, commerce, ſituation, and tenure, the influence that learning has on the progreſs of civility, and the contrary conſequences of the want of it. Few perſons are to be found in Weſtmoreland, who cannot both read and write. Hence the people, in general, are civiliſed, and of an humane and hoſpitable diſpoſition. This is owing to the number of free ſchools eſtabliſhed by various benefactions from families of the nobility and gentry, and many from thoſe of the yeomanry, who had property in theſe counties. Few villages are to be found in thoſe parts, that have not ſome inſtitution of this kind, and the children of the ordinary huſbandmen are often acquainted with Æſop and Corderius before they go to the plough. Very different is the effect, where theſe eſtabliſhments are unknown. Even in Oxfordſhire, the metropolitical county of ſcience, are ſome pariſhes, where not three of the inhabitants are able to write their names: hence the manners of the people are not more reſpectable than their knowledge. —— Prefixed to this Hiſtory is an introductory account of the ancient ſtate of the borders; and, indeed, the two counties which are the ſubject of it were ſo connected with the border laws and ſervices that ſuch an account ſeemed neceſſary. M.

Sketch of a tour into Derbyſhire and Yorkſhire, including part of Buckingham, Warwick, Leiceſter, Nottingham, Northampton, Bedford, and Hertford ſhires. 2s. 6d. *White* —— This author is evidently a man of ſenſe. His attention appears to have been directed to the moſt proper objects, his reflections to have been judicious, his deſcriptions circumſtantial without tediouſneſs, and he has frequently ſubjoined reflections naturally ariſing from the ſubject, and ſerving to add utility to what might otherwiſe have proved merely amuſement.—The book may be uſed with advantage, as a pocket companion, by thoſe who make the ſame excurſion; and perhaps a more delightful one cannot be pointed out, whether we conſider the beauty and variety of the objects preſented to us by the bountiful hand of NATURE, or the amazing productions of ART, which are to be met with, in greater variety, and perfection, within the circuit of this tour, than in any ſpace of equal extent, in our own or any other country. M.

Sketches of the lives and writings of the ladies of France. Addreſſed to Mrs Eliſabeth Carter. By Ann Thickneſſe. Vol 1. 2s. 6d. ſewed. *Brown.* —— Mrs Thickneſſe has not only enlivened her work with anecdotes and characters of the ladies ſhe mentions, but alſo given a general account of their moſt conſpicuous productions, accompanied with pertinent remarks. C.

Further proceedings on the trial of John Horne, Eſq; upon an information filed *ex officio*, by his Majeſty's Attorney-General, for a libel, in the court of king's-bench, on the 19th and 24th of November. Publiſhed by the defendant, from Mr Gurney's ſhort-hand notes. 2s. *Kearſley.* —— Thoſe who preſerve the printed account of Mr Horne's trial formerly publiſhed [39. 435, 65.], will not, we ſuppoſe, chuſe to overlook theſe farther proceedings, which contain many things worthy to be had in remembrance. We muſt not, on this occaſion, forget to mention Mr Horne's general defence of his own character and conduct through life. This vindication, though a defultory, and in ſome reſpects rather impertinent performance, exhibits, in a very ſtriking light, the firm, manly, and unconquered ſpirit of the defendant. We obſerve this, purely in reference to the abilities and intrepidity of the man, without any retroſpect to the cauſe in which he is a ſufferer, — and ſeems to glory in being ſo. M.

America.

Two letters, viz 1. A letter to the Earl of Abingdon, in which his Grace of York's notions of civil liberty [39 429, 61.] are examined. 2. *Vera Icon*; or, A vindication of his Grace of York's ſermon, preached Feb. 21. 1777. Proving it to contain a ſevere ſatire againſt the miniſtry, and a defence of civil and religious liberty, upon the well-known principles of Whiggiſm. By Myſtagogus Candidus. 1s. *Almon.* —— The firſt of theſe letters contains ſome ſhrewd and pertinent remarks on his Grace of York's ſermon; the ſecond is an ironical vindication of it; and though the irony is, in ſome places, a little awkward, yet there are ſtrokes of humour and pleaſantry which will amuſe the reader. M.

A letter to the Earl of Abingdon, diſcuſſing a poſition relative to a fundamental right of the conſtitution, contained in his Lordſhip's Thoughts on the letter of Edmund Burke, Eſq; &c. [39. 708.] By John Cartwright. 1s. *Almon.* —— Labours with great earneſtneſs

earneſtneſs to ſhew, that the Britiſh parliament hath no right to make laws for reſtraining the trade of America; and he delivers his ſentiments with a manly plainneſs and freedom. M

The legiſlative rights of the commonalty vindicated; or, TAKE YOUR CHOICE, &c. Edit 2. By John Cartwright. 3s 6d. *Almon.* —— Now greatly enlarged, and may be conſidered as no improper ſupplement to Burgh's Political Diſquiſitions. Mr Cartwright is alſo the author of *American independence the intereſt and glory of G. Britain* [37. 324.]. M.

The memorial of Common Senſe on the preſent criſis. 6d. *Almon* ——Warmly urges a full acquieſcence in the American claim of independence, and a change of miniſters as well as of meaſures. M.

The deluſive and dangerous principles of the minority, expoſed and refuted. In a letter to Lord North. 1s 6d. *Fielding and Co.* —— This honeſt man (he ſigns *Honeſtus*) comes out rather *mal a propos* with his compliments to Lord North, who, he ſays, "has ſo nobly diſtinguiſhed his ſentiments in the cauſe of loyalty and true patriotiſm, with a view of oppoſing and defeating the authors and abettors of rebellion on this and the other ſide the Atlantic."— Alas! before this courtly pamphlet had well eſcaped from the preſs, the author's noble patron publicly [142.] gave the *lie-direct* to all that is here moſt zealouſly contended for.—We are truly ſorry for the diſappointment of a brother-ſcribbler. His Lordſhip ſhould have given his authors timely notice of the approaching change of the political wind. He certainly ought, at leaſt, to diſcharge the bookſeller's bill; for the paper and print of an eighteen pennyworth is ſometimes a ſerious affair with us ſcribblers. M.

An account of the ſufferings and perſecution of John Champneys, a native of South Carolina; inflicted by order of Congreſs, for his refuſal to take up arms in defence of the arbitrary proceedings carried on by the rulers of ſaid place. Together with his proteſt, &c. 8vo 20 pages. No bookſeller, nor price mentioned. —— Exactly ſimilar to the addreſs of the inhabitants of Pennſylvania. [39 695 & 709.]

Conſiderations on the alledged neceſſity of hiring foreign troops, and the preſent method of recruiting the army; with a plan for augmenting the army, and regulating the militia. 2s. *Elmſley.* —— A prodigious ſaving of the public money would ariſe from the various arrangements here propoſed, a ſaving of nearly one million in three; of which take the following ſpecimen.

"Upon a calculation of the charge of our German auxiliaries for three years, the exceſs of their expence above that of an equal number of our own troops (allowing 10 l. per man levy-money) will defray the pay of the reduced Britiſh officers for fifteen years. The regiment of Hanau, conſiſting of 668 men, ſhall be the proof of this aſſertion; the expence is calculated for three years, on the ſuppoſition that at the expiration of that term the regiment may be returned to Heſſe.

Total charge of this regiment for three years	£. 68,072 2 2 ½
Total ditto of a Britiſh regiment, with 10 l. levy-money - -	44,693 15 0
Exceſs for the German	£. 23,378 7 2 ½

As one of the arguments uſed for preferring foreign mercenaries to our own troops is, "that foreigners do not ſubject the nation to halfpay,"— our judicious calculator obſerves, that the exceſs, or difference, of 23,378 l. 7 s. 2 d. 1 f. will defray the Britiſh officers of a like corps, whoſe halfpay would amount to 1712 l. 9 s. 2 d. *per annum*, for fifteen years." M.

Faſt-Sermons.

Before the Houſe of Lords. By John, Lord Biſhop of Oxford. 1 s. *Cadell.* ——Exhorts his Noble audience not to deſpair of an happy iſſue to the American war, although we have not hitherto been very ſucceſsful. It ſeems to give his Lordſhip ſome comfort to find that we are not yet ruined; while, on the other hand, he thinks, (if we rightly underſtand him), that the Americans are nearly ſo; and that they muſt, in all human probability, be completely undone, ſhould they refuſe our proffered terms of accommodation. M.

At St Paul's, Bedford. By Thomas Bedford, M. A. rector of Wike St Mary, Cornwall. 6 d. *Wilkie.* —— Expatiates much on the gloomy aſpect of the times, and on the viſitation of God's judgements for the wickedneſs of the land. M.

At Mitcham in Surry. By J. Parſons, A. B. curate of Mitcham. 1 s. *Becket.* —— Pious and loyal. M.

A form of ſermon, deſigned as a ſupplement to a *form of prayer* to be uſed in all churches and chapels, Feb. 27. being the day appointed for a general faſt. By the author's ſpecial deſire. 1 s. *Almon.* —— There is good writing in this diſcourſe, with much declamation, and ſome obſcurity with reſpect to the author's particular view, in giving us a public document in ſo queſtionable a form. We believe he is a *Slyboots*. M.

The Layman's ſermon for the general faſt. 6 d. *Wilkie.* ——A preacher of peace, and a ſevere reprover of thoſe hypocritical ſons of violence, who "faſt for ſtrife and debate, and to ſmite with the fiſt of wickedneſs." "Let us (ſays he) ſeek peace, and enſue it," as the means of rendering ourſelves accept-

able to Heaven, and of diverting from us the impending ruin. M — This writer has thrown together ſeveral paſſages from the prophet Iſaiah, which, he thinks, are as applicable to ourſelves, in our political capacity, as they were to the Jews. — If he is impartial, he cannot do better, in his next diſcourſe, than give us a comment on this emphatical exclamation, the very firſt words of the ſame prophet: "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth! I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled againſt me!" His illuſtrations, no doubt, would then be as edifying to the coloniſts, as they are at preſent to the people of this kingdom. C.

Natural Hiſtory, Medicine, &c.

A letter to the Rt Rev. the Lord Biſhop of Durham. Containing ſome obſervations on the climate of Ruſſia, &c. By John Glen King, D. D. 2s *Dodſley*. Contains a few obſervations on the climate of Ruſſia, and the Northern countries, with a view of the Flying Mountains at Zarko Scllo near St Peterſburgh, or a ſort of diverſion which conſiſts in rolling down a ſteep declivity. C.

A diſſertation on cancerous diſeaſes. By Ber. Perilhe, M D. Regius profeſſor of ſurgery at Paris, &c. Tranſlated from the Latin, with notes. 2s 6d *Wilkie* —In conſequence of a prize offered by the academy of ſciences at Lyons for the beſt diſſertation on the nature and method of cure of cancerous diſeaſes, ſeveral treatiſes on the ſubject were offered, of which that before us obtained the preference. The author begins with attempting to eſtabliſh his idea of cancer; which is, that a ſtagnation of the lymph firſt produces a tumour in a gland, which, by continual acceſſions, compreſſes the neighbouring parts, and cauſes that induration which is termed a *ſcirrhus*; that either from ſome external cauſe, or conſtitutional diſpoſition, a kind of fermentative proceſs, of the putrefactive ſpecies, begins in the center of this tumour, which diſſolving part of the maſs, occaſions a fluxion of corroſive fluid towards the ſurface, and terminates in an open ulcer. He therefore oppoſes the idea of an innate cancerous virus *ſui generis*; and contends, that the humour to which this name is applied differs in no reſpect from the *ſanies* produced by every animal putrefaction. In conſequence of this theory, the treatment he propoſes is entirely upon the antiſeptic plan; and he particularly recommends the external application of mephitic vapours, apparently without any previous information of their having been employed in the ſame diſeaſe in this country. Two experiments which he relates as made by himſelf, reſpecting this point of practice, are, however, no more ſatisfactory than thoſe which have been tried by our own countrymen; and we apprehend Dr Perilhe's notions concerning this diſeaſe are ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by real obſervation, that little benefit to the healing art can be expected to ariſe from this work. M.

An eſſay on the Eryſipelas, or that diſorder commonly called *St Anthony's fire*. By James Bureau, member of the corporation of ſurgeons. 1s. *Johnſon*. —— The purpoſe of this little pamphlet appears to be, to give a general view of the moſt approved modern practice in the treatment of the eryſipelas; which it does in a diſtinct and rational manner, but without any of thoſe particular obſervations which alone can convey much inſtruction to the informed practitioner. M.

A ſhort account of a fever and ſore throat which began to appear in and about London in September 1776. In a letter to Dr William Saunders, of Guy's hoſpital. By William Grant, M. D. 1s. *Cadell*—— The diſeaſe called by Huxham *Febris Anginoſa*; by others, *Scarlatina Anginoſa*, *Cynanche exanthematica*, *Angina mucoſa*, *Angina eryſipelatoſa*, is the ſubject of the pamphlet before us. It prevailed epidemically in and about the metropolis in autumn 1776; and Dr Grant ſeems to have been chiefly induced to offer a ſhort account of it to the public, from ſome miſtakes he obſerved in the treatment of it, ariſing from its apparent reſemblance to thoſe putrid and malignant ulcerated ſore throats, which of late years have excited ſo general an alarm. From this account, the *Angina mucoſa* appears to hold a middle nature between the putrid and common inflammatory ſore throat; but from the caſes ſubjoined, the treatment moſt ſuitable to it approaches rather to that proper for the latter than the former. Bleeding, when the ſymptoms ran high, was highly ſalutary, and indeed neceſſary. A breathing ſweat kept up during the firſt days of the diſeaſe, a bliſter applied externally to the throat, and gentle aperients, were the other parts of the general method of cure. When the ſalivation was come on, a freer diet, with a light preparation of the bark, were uſeful to ſupport the patient's ſtrength; but the exhibition of bark before this period was found to be injurious. M.

An eſſay on the method of treating the Fluor Albus, or Whites. By Mrs Feburc of St Hidepiont. 1s. *Elmſley*. —— A quack advertiſement, diſguiſed, indeed, with tolerable ingenuity. M.

Obſervations and experiments on the power of the mephytic acid in diſſolving ſtones of the bladder. In a letter to Dr Percival. By William Saunders, M. D.—— Tend to confirm the efficacy of fixed air in diſſolving the human calculus. C.

EPI-

EPITAPH:

Intended for JANE *Countess of* EGLINTOUNE, *who died in her* 21*ſt year.* [53.]

BLeſt with each native grace, each gentle art,
That charms the eye, and captivates the heart;
The ſenſe of Age, warm'd with the glow of Youth,
And ſage Diſcretion, join'd to manly Truth;
Polite, yet artleſs; ſimple, though refin'd;
Her form all grace, all harmony her mind,
Where ſober Wiſdom, radiant Wit, conſpire,
A Virgin's ſoftneſs, and a Seraph's fire;
All that the Sage reveres, the Youth admires,
What Reaſon dictates, what the Muſe inſpires.
Her modeſt virtues, in a low eſtate
Had drawn reſpect, but dignify'd a great:
Conſpicuous plac'd, in a licentious age,
To ſtem the torrent, and repreſs the rage
Of Vice.——A fair example, lent, not giv'n;
Alas, too ſoon recall'd to native heav'n!
Her drooping Lord and mourning parents join
With mutual ſorrows to inſcribe her ſhrine. C.

VERSES written on the 25*th of March, being* Quarter-day.

FRom ſouthern climes the god of day
Returns to greet our iſle;
Bids Spring her infant hours diſplay,
And wear an early ſmile.

But there are thoſe, for whom in vain
The brighteſt proſpect glows,
Who now lament in piteous ſtrain,
This day, a day of woes.

Behold the wretch, whoſe lord ſevere
Expels him from that home
Which us'd his ſimple heart to chear,
Through the wide world to roam.

Perhaps, ſad partner of his flight,
He ſhares a conſort's grief;
A prattling brood, his dear delight,
Now loſt to all relief

Hard is that heart which can refuſe
Soft pity to th' oppreſt;
Yet the ſtern landlord's ſelfiſh views,
To theſe can ſteel his breaſt.

If where the tower'd cities riſe,
The ſearch we ſtill purſue;
Where-e'er we turn our pitying eyes,
The ſame ſad ſcene we view.

In times like theſe, be not forgot
Sweet Mercy's ſoft beheſt!
Unpity'd be the guilty's lot,
But ſpare the poor diſtreſt!

O ſpare, ye rich, thoſe whom the front
Of Miſ'ry marks for woe;
Nor let the "houſeleſs child of want"
His pray'r in vain beſtow.

So may your wealth, your ſtores increaſe,
As years glide ſoft away;
Nor wretches' groans diſturb your peace,
Breath'd forth on Quarter-day. ÆGON.

INVOCATION to PEACE.

COme, lovely Peace! celeſtial maid, deſcend!
Britannia wooes thee to her longing arms:
In pity to her ſorrows, grant her prayer,
And ſtop the ſlaughter of her warring ſons.
By pleaſing, painful fancy led to roam,
In fair Imagination's flowery paths,
I ruminate the glories of thy reign:
There Britiſh wives I ſee no longer ſad,
But happy in their huſbands fond embrace.
Anxiety, and doubt, and fear remov'd,
I ſee the gladden'd father hail his ſon.
Painful ſuſpence and tedious abſence o'er,
View the blithe maiden welcome home her love.
Of blood and carnage not a word is heard,
To the ſoft flute the trumpet ſhrill gives way;
The glittering ſpear, and ſword deſtructive,
To ſcythe and reaping-hook yield now the palm;
Uninterrupted, Commerce ſpreads her ſails;
Tender Humanity reſumes her ſeat;
The Arts revive their heads, and all is joy!
Oh lovely Peace, ſupport the cheering dream!
Let not the deadly drum proclaim it falſe:
Inſtead of marching with the piercing fife,
Let yon company of ruddy peaſants
Dance to the harmleſs tabor's pleaſing notes;
So ſhall no more the blood of Britiſh youths,
Or ſons of Scotia, or of Wales, be ſpilt:
So courtly Mancheſter its treaſures ſave;
So H————n give better proofs of love;
A——l be loyal on a nobler plan. P.

The MANCHESTER VOLUNTEERS.

Written and ſung by Mr CRANESON, *comedian, at the Theatre-royal in that town, on Friday Jan.* 9. [43.]

Tune, *In ſtory we're told*, &c.

YE lads of true ſpirit,
Who wiſh to inherit
A fame to increaſe with your years;
For our king, and his laws,
Come join in the cauſe
With the Mancheſter bold Volunteers.

An example ſo glorious,
Heav'n grant them victorious!
May they always be ſtrangers to fears!
May the trumpet of fame
Ever give them the name
Of the Mancheſter bold Volunteers.

May they ever oppoſe
Great Britain's proud foes,
And make them confeſs e'en with tears,
'Tis in vain to withſtand
So united a band
As the Mancheſter bold Volunteers.

Then let us unite,
'Gainſt rebellion to fight,
Come, lads, then aſſiſt in three cheers;
And let each hearty ſoul
Drink a health in a bowl
To the Mancheſter brave Volunteers.

To

To the Author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *March* 31. 1778.

REMOVED at a great diſtance from the ſcene of a tranſaction which is alluded to in a letter addreſſed to you by a correſpondent ſigning himſelf *Obſervator* [6], I had not before heard of ſo uncommon an event taking place in Scotland; and having ſince made particular enquiry about it, the following Advertiſement is offered for a place in ſome future Magazine, if it has merit ſufficient to entitle it to that honour.——I am, &c. T. F.

ADVERTISEMENT.

None but the gall'd horſe winces.

WHereas the happy time draws near,
The harveſt of the ſeventh year,
When prudent voters court the ray
That ripens their ſeptennial hay;
When burghers quit their toilſome trade,
To riot, void of Labour's aid;
Their Wives turn'd Ladies, Daughters Miſſes,
Regal'd with courteſy and kiſſes;
I, not accuſtom'd thus to treat,
And yet ambitious of a ſeat,
Where pow'rful Miniſters careſs,—
My Advertiſement thus addreſs——
To ſuch as have obtain'd the rule
Where every voter is a tool;
Who ſtir Corruption's muddy fount,
To bring their boroughs to account,
To mend the error of their hand,
Replace their coin, and ſave their land;
Propoſals tempting I advance,
And offer largely for the chance,
By ſtrength of lungs and oppoſition,
To climb the ladder of Ambition.
My object is ſucceſs and eaſe;
My open ſtipulations theſe:——
When, all-unknown, and unſuſpected,
Like D---r I ſhall be elected,
Without or care, or toil, or trouble;
I here engage his terms to double.
Apply to Mr Thomas Fleet,
The corner of Parnaſſus ſtreet,
Where, be aſſur'd your buſineſs thrives;
And come *yourſelves*,—or ſend your *wives*.

To DELIA.

TRue to th' effect they ſay the cauſe
Bears juſt proportion ſtill:——
But, ah! how vain are human laws!
How futile learned ſkill!

When oft with DELIA's comp'ny bleſt,
I us'd to cheat the night——
A gentle rapture fill'd my breaſt!
A tranquil——ſweet delight!

But ſince the ſad misfortune came,
To be from DELIA torn;
The farther from the cauſe I am,
The more——the more——I burn!

A SONG. By the late SAM. COX, Eſq;

WHen STELLA's charms firſt met my eye,
Whilſt yet unknown her name,
A fault'ring tongue and tell-tale ſigh
My paſſion did proclaim:

But when her ſplendid birth I knew,
Ye Gods! how much I ſtrove
The guilty paſſion to ſubdue,
And ſereen my heart from love!

Oh! had I liv'd in happier times,
When love was free as air,
And any ſwain without a crime
Accoſted any fair!

My artleſs vows had try'd to move
The pity of her breaſt;
And pity, ripening into love,
Perchance had made me bleſt.

But wretched I each hope diſclaim
That feeds my fond deſire,
And ev'ry wiſh my breaſt can frame,
Shall in that breaſt expire.

What tyrant Cuſtom can't approve,
My Reaſon ſhall reject,
And that which in its birth was love,
Shall only be reſpect.

But, STELLA, ſhou'd a ſtruggling ſigh
From my poor heart get free,
Or ſhou'd you catch my guilty eye
When fondly fix'd on thee;

Oh! let me, let me be forgiv'n,
And think how hard my taſk,
Since ſinners may admire that heav'n
For which they dare not aſk.

An Apoſtrophe in favour of Love.

REgardleſs of the Cynic rules,
And all the moral cant of ſchools,
If in the web of life entwin'd,
Some mingled threads of Love we find,
O! let unſkilful hands forbear,
Leſt with rude touch the work they tear,
And wound ſome kindred virtue there!
By Love's prevailing pow'r refin'd,
Our hearts grow gen'rous, open, kind;
The rude contending paſſions ceaſe,
And all is gentleneſs, and peace!
This was the end ordain'd by Heav'n,
When firſt to bleſs the earth was giv'n
Woman!——to her the taſk aſſign'd,
To harmonize man's rugged mind!
To guide us thro' life's ſtormy way,
And gild with hope our riſing day!
Melt with a tear,——or with a ſmile
O'erpay whole years of anxious toil!
Heav'n's bounteous hand in ev'ry breaſt,
The ſeeds of pleaſure hath impreſt,
But on ourſelves alone depends
To guide them to their proper ends;
And from our care alone proceed
The fragrant flow'r!——or noxious weed!

POETICUS.

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

ENGLAND. [109.]

The royal aſſent was given to the following bills:

To theſe, by commiſſion, March 6.

An act for the regulation of his Majeſty's marine forces while on ſhore.

An act for the better ſupply of mariners and ſeamen to ſerve in his Majeſty's ſhips of war, and on board merchant-ſhips, and other trading ſhips and veſſels

To an act for licenſing a theatre in Briſtol, and fourteen bills concerning roads, and other matters of police; none of which relate to Scotland, except one, viz. *An act for repairing the highways and bridges in the county of Wigton.*

And twenty-ſeven private bills.

To theſe, by the King, March 11.

An act to enable his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, with ſufficient powers to treat, conſult, and agree, upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces, of North America.

An act for removing all doubts and apprehenſions concerning taxation, by the parliament of Great Britain, in any of the colonies, provinces, and plantations, in North America and the Weſt Indies; and for repealing ſo much of an act, 7° Geo. III. as impoſes a duty on tea imported from G. Britain into any colony or plantation in America, or relates thereto. [29. 322, 3.]

An act for repealing an act, 14° Geo. III. "for the better regulating the government of the province of the Maſſachuſet's bay, in New England." [36. 265. 401.]

An act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia, in that part of Great Britain called England, for one year, beginning March 25. 1778; and for filling up vacancies in the militia in the caſes therein mentioned.

An act for the relief of the captors of prizes, with reſpect to the bringing and landing certain prize-goods in this kingdom.

An act for allowing the exportation of certain quantities of wheat flour, biſcuit, and peaſe, to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Bay Chaleur, and Labrador.

And one road-bill, Engliſh.

To theſe, by commiſſion, March 27.

An act for raiſing a certain ſum of money, by way of annuities; and for eſtabliſhing a lottery *.

* [*For the note ſee next column.*]

An act to explain an act 7° Geo. II. "for the more effectual preventing the forging the acceptance of bills of exchange, or the numbers, or principal ſums, of accountable receipts for notes, bills, or other ſecurities, for payment of money, or warrants, or orders, for payment of money, or delivery of goods."

An act for the payment of coſts to parties, on complaints determined before juſtices of the peace out of ſeſſions; for the payment of the charges of conſtables in certain caſes; and for the more effectual payment of charges to witneſſes and proſecutors of any larceny, or other felony.

Thirteen bills relating to roads, and other matters of police, all Engliſh, and twenty-three private bills.

None of the private bills mentioned in this page, relate to Scotland.

Two royal proclamations, dated March 30. have been duly publiſhed. — One is for recalling and prohibiting ſeamen from ſerving foreign princes and ſtates. By it all maſters of ſhips, pilots, mariners, ſeamen, ſhipwrights, and other ſeafaring men whatſoever, the King's natural-born ſubjects, who are in the ſervice of any foreign prince or ſtate, or do ſerve in any foreign veſſel, are commanded forthwith to quit ſuch foreign ſervice, and return home; and all ſuch ſeafaring men are forbid to enter into ſuch foreign ſervice. To all which due obedience and exact conformity is expected. Offenders ſhall not only incur his Majeſty's juſt diſpleaſure, but they ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the utmoſt ſeverities of the law. And if ſuch ſeafaring men be taken in any foreign ſervice by the Turks, Algerines, or any

*Scheme of the STATE-LOTTERY, 1778.

Prizes.		*Value.*		*Amount.*
2	of	£. 20,000		£. 40,000
2	——	10,000	——	20,000
4	——	5,000	——	20,000
10	——	2,000	——	20,000
16	——	1,000	——	16,000
30	——	500	——	15,000
100	——	100	——	10,000
360	——	50	——	18,000
15,500	——	20	——	310,000
16,024 prizes				469,000
First drawn for the first ten days, 1000 l. each				10,000
Laſt drawn			—	1,000
31,976 blanks				
48,000 tickets at £10 each,				£. 480,000

others,

others, they ſhall not be reclaimed as ſubjects of G. Britain.

The other proclamation ſets forth, That divers perſons have been guilty of clandeſtine importing and running of prohibited and uncuſtomed goods, for which ſome have been convicted and are in execution, others are under proſecution, and many have abſconded, or are gone into foreign parts, which may prove the ruin of themſelves and their families; that theſe perſons may yet be of uſe to their king and country, in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, by ſerving in the navy or army in caſe they be rendered capable thereof by his Majeſty's pardon: Therefore, in hopes of putting a ſtop to practices pernicious to the public intereſt, and deſtructive to the perſons and families of ſo many of the King's ſubjects, his Majeſty promiſes, that in caſe any fit perſon, who has incurred any penalties for the clandeſtine importing or running prohibited or uncuſtomed goods, or who has abuſed or obſtructed any revenue-officer in the execution of his duty, or who is under any proſecution, judgement, outlawry, in priſon, or ſubject to any execution for any of the ſaid offences, or gone beyond ſea to avoid the ſame, ſhall, on or before the 11th of May next, enter himſelf as a ſailor or ſoldier in the King's ſervice, every ſuch perſon ſhall have his Majeſty's pardon for all ſuch offences, proſecutions, convictions, judgements, &c.

By an advertiſement, dated, *War-office, March* 28. ſigned BARRINGTON, his Majeſty's gracious pardon is offered to all deſerters from the land-forces, who ſhall ſurrender themſelves, before the 11th of May next, to the regiment to which they belong, or to ſome other corps in his Majeſty's ſervice, ſuch deſerters to be atteſted in the corps to which they ſurrender; this pardon extending not only to deſerters who have inliſted, and are now ſerving, in other corps, (and who are directed to continue in the corps in which they now are), but alſo to deſerters now in gaol, or in regimental cuſtody, theſe left to have the benefit of the pardon upon their arrival at their reſpective regiments, or upon their being inliſted by ſome other corps or recruiting-party. Any ſoldier who may deſert after the publication of this advertiſement, ſhall not be included in the above pardon, but be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt ſeverity.

In the London Gazette of March 21, there are orders by a ſecretary of ſtate and the ſecretary of war, reſpectively, directing all officers belonging to regiments of cavalry and infantry now ſerving in Ireland, except ſuch as are employed in the recruiting-ſervice, and all officers belonging to regiments on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, or to any of the garriſons in Ireland, to repair to their reſpective corps and poſts without delay.

Advertiſements appear in every gazette relating to the militia.

"*St James's, March* 14. Yeſterday the Rt Hon. the Lord Mayor, ſeveral of the Aldermen, the Sheriffs, and ſome of the Common Council of the city of London, waited upon his Majeſty, (being introduced by the Earl of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold), with the following Addreſs and Petition, which was read by Thomas Nugent, Eſq; the Common Serjeant.

"To the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

The Humble Addreſs and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the city of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, attached to your Majeſty's royal Houſe by principle, to your perſon by the trueſt affection, and to the honour and proſperity of your government by every intereſt which can be dear to the heart of man, in this preſent deplorable ſtate of the affairs of this once great and flouriſhing country, with moſt profound humility, implore leave to lay ourſelves at your Majeſty's feet, to repreſent to your Majeſty the ſentiments and wiſhes of a faithful and afflicted people.

When this civil war was firſt threatened, your loyal city of London, in concurrence with the ſenſe of many other reſpectable public bodies of your kingdom, and many of the wiſeſt and beſt of your ſubjects, did moſt humbly deprecate this evil, foreboding but too truly the charges, calamities, and diſgraces, of which it has been hitherto productive, and the greater to which it is ſtill likely to ſubject this kingdom.

Your faithful people on that occaſion had the misfortune to receive from your Majeſty an anſwer, more ſuitable to the

imperfect

imperfect manner in which (they fear) they expreſſed ſentiments full of duty, than to your Majeſty's own moſt gracious diſpoſition, their inviolable reverence to their Sovereign, and their unſhaken zeal for his true glory. They retired in a mournful and reſpectful ſilence; patiently awaiting the diſpoſition of Providence, and the return of your Majeſty's favour and countenance, whenever experience ſhould fully diſcloſe, in its true light, the well-founded nature of their apprehenſions, and the fatal tendency of thoſe counſels by which the nation has been miſled.

For miſled and deceived your Majeſty and many of your ſubjects have been. No pains have been omitted to hide from both the true nature of the buſineſs in which we are engaged; no arts have been left untried to ſtimulate the paſſions of your ſubjects in this kingdom; and we are confident, that infinitely more ſkill and attention have been uſed to engage us in this war, than have been employed to conduct it to honour or advantage, if honour or advantage could be obtained by any conduct in ſuch a war. We have been induſtriouſly taught to ſuſpect the profeſſions and to deſpiſe the reſiſtance of our brethren, (Engliſhmen like ourſelves), whom we had no ſort of reaſon to think deficient in the ſincerity and courage which have ever diſtinguiſhed that name and race: their inclinations have been miſrepreſented; their natural faculties depreciated; their reſources miſcalculated; their feelings inſulted; until fury and deſpair ſupplying whatever might be defective in force, we have ſeen a whole army, the flower of the trained military ſtrength of Great Britain and her allies, famiſhing in the wilderneſs of America, laying down their arms, and owing their immediate reſcue from death to thoſe very men, whom the murders and rapines of the ſavages (unhappily employed) had forced from huſbandmen into ſoldiers, and who had been painted in ſuch colours of contempt, as to take away all conſolation from our calamity.

We have ſeen another army, equally brave and equally well commanded, for two years in an almoſt continued courſe of victory, by which they have only waſted their own numbers, without decreaſing the ſtrength of the reſiſting power; without leading to any ſort of ſubmiſſion, or bringing to your Majeſty's obedience even the ſmalleſt and weakeſt of thirteen revolted provinces. The union of thoſe provinces amongſt themſelves, and their animoſity to your Majeſty's adminiſtration, have only been increaſed by the injudicious methods taken to break the one, and to ſubdue the other: fleets and armies are maintained in numbers almoſt equal, and at an expence comparatively far ſuperior, to whatever has been employed in the moſt glorious and ſucceſsful ſtruggles of this country, againſt a combination of the moſt ancient and formidable monarchies of Europe. A few inconſiderable detached iſlands, and one deſerted town on the continent, where your Majeſty's combined army has a perilous and inſecure footing, are the only fruits of an expence exceeding twenty millions, of ninety-three ſhips of war, ſixty thouſand of the beſt ſoldiers which could be procured, either at home or abroad, and appointed for that ſpecial ſervice. Your Majeſty's forces both by ſea and land have (we are told) done all that could be expected from the moſt accompliſhed diſcipline, and the moſt determined courage; and yet the total defeat of ſome of theſe forces, and the ineffectual victories of others, have almoſt equally conſpired to the deſtruction of your power, and the diſmemberment of your empire. We ſhould be unpardonably negligent of our duty to your Majeſty, to ourſelves, and to our country, if we did not thus ſolemnly expreſs our feelings upon this dreadful and deciſive proof of the madneſs with which this attempt was originally made; and which, faithfully following it through every ſtep of its progreſs, and every meaſure of its execution, has completed, by uniform miſconduct, the miſchiefs which were commenced in total ignorance. We are convinced, that not the deluſions of artful and deſigning men, (which, like every thing falſe, cannot be permanent), but the general ſenſe of the whole American people, is ſet and determined againſt the plans of coercion, civil and military, which have been hitherto employed againſt them; an whole, united, and irritated people cannot be conquered. If the force now employed cannot do it, no force within our abilities will do it.

The wealth of this nation is great; and our diſpoſition would be to pour it out with the moſt unreſerved and chearful liberality, for the ſupport of the ho-

nour and dignity of your crown; but domeſtic peace and domeſtic oeconomy are the only means of ſupplying expence for war abroad. In this conteſt our reſources are exhauſted, whilſt thoſe of our rivals are ſpared; and we are, every year of the continuance of this war, altering the balance of our public ſtrength and riches in their favour.

We think ourſelves bound, moſt dread Sovereign, to expreſs our fears and apprehenſions to your Majeſty, that, at a time when your Majeſty's gracious ſpeech from the throne has hinted, and your vaſt naval preparations, in a ſtyle much more explicit, announce to us and the world the critical ſtate in which we ſtand with regard to the great neighbouring powers, we have not the comfort to learn from that ſpeech, from any aſſurance of your Majeſty's ſervants, or even from common fame, that any alliance whatever has been made with the other great ſtates of Europe, in order to cover us from the complicated perils ſo manifeſtly imminent over this nation: we have as little reaſon to be certain, that alliances of the moſt dangerous kind are not formed againſt us.

In this ſtate of anxious doubt and danger we have recourſe to the clemency and wiſdom of your Majeſty, the tender parent and vigilant guardian of your people, that you will graciouſly take ſuch meaſures as may reſtore internal peace, and (as far as the miſerable circumſtances into which the late deſtructive courſes have brought us will permit) reunite the Britiſh nation in ſome happy, honourable, and permanent conjunction; leſt the colonies, exaſperated by rigours of continued war, ſhould become totally alienated from their parent-country; leſt every remaining ſpark of their affection ſhould be extinguiſhed in habits of mutual ſlaughter and rapine; and leſt, in ſome evil hour, they who have hitherto been the great ſupport of the Britiſh ſtrength, ſhould become the moſt formidable and laſting acceſſion to the conſtant enemies of the power and proſperity of your kingdoms.

We humbly hope and truſt, that your Majeſty will give all due efficacy to the conceſſions (we wiſh thoſe conceſſions may not have come too late) which have been propoſed in parliament. And we have that undoubted reliance on the magnanimity of your Majeſty's enlarged and kingly affections, that we are under no apprehenſions of your Majeſty being biaſſed by private partiality to any ſet of men, in a caſe where the good, where the very being of your people, is at ſtake; and with an humble confidence we implore and ſupplicate your Majeſty, that nothing may ſtand in the way of thoſe arrangements in your councils and executive offices, which may beſt forward the great, neceſſary, and bleſſed work of peace, which may tend to reſcue your affairs from unwiſe and improvident management, and which may obtain, improve, and ſecure the returning confidence of all your people. In ſuch meaſures and ſuch arrangements, for ſuch an end, your citizens of London will never fail to give your Majeſty their moſt affectionate and ſteady ſupport.

Signed by order of court,

WILLIAM RIX."

To which addreſs and petition his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer.

"I can never think that the zeal of my ſubjects, the reſources of my kingdoms, and the bravery of my fleets and armies, can have been unwiſely and improvidently exerted, when the object was to maintain the conſtitutional ſubordination which ought to prevail through the ſeveral parts of my dominions, and is eſſential to the proſperity of the whole. But I have always lamented the calamities inſeparable from a ſtate of war; and ſhall moſt earneſtly give all the efficacy in my power to thoſe meaſures which the legiſlature has adopted for the purpoſe of reſtoring, by ſome happy, honourable, and permanent conciliation, the bleſſings of peace, commerce, affection, and confidence, between the mother-country and the colonies."

A meeting of gentlemen and merchants was held at the King's-arms tavern on Friday, Feb. 20. to conſider of the preſent ſtate of affairs. Four preliminaries were preſented to the gentlemen before entering the room, viz. 1. That each muſt wiſh for peace with America; 2. That he is a man of moderation; 3. That the Americans muſt, in his judgement, reſcind the vote of independence; 4. That he muſt ſign a note of hand to ſubſcribe towards the maintenance of the war, in caſe America would not reſcind their vote of independence, and accept the terms of accommodation held out in the plan to be propoſed. This was intended

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as a teſt of the inclinations of the company. It was, however, laughed at, and reprobated by the general voice.—At next meeting, Feb. 23. a gentleman recommended, that a petition be preſented to the Houſe of Commons; and offered, for the determination of the gentlemen, a draft of one which he had prepared. This draft was prefaced with a motion, to appoint a committee for drawing up a petition founded upon that plan. The ſubſtance of the propoſition was, That parliament do make an accurate inveſtigation into the ſteps taken between America and France towards a treaty between thoſe powers, and whether any ſuch treaty did actually exiſt; and farther, that the parliament would petition the throne to remove thoſe men who had involved this nation in a ruinous civil war, and by whoſe miſmanagement we had loſt thirteen flouriſhing colonies; as men who had been the occaſion of diſjointing ſo large a portion of the empire, muſt be utterly incapable of managing that part that remained; and likewiſe, that theſe men were ſo univerſally deteſted in America, that no terms of conciliation they could propoſe would be ever acceded to by the colonies; conſequently, whilſt they continued in office, peace, ſo much wiſhed for by all parties, could never be expected to take place. In conſequence of this ſketch a committee was appointed, to prepare the addreſs for the inſpection of the meeting againſt the 25th, at the ſame time appointing to take the conciliatory bills, as they then ſtood, and as they might ſtand, under their conſideration.—At a meeting on the 25th, when about 300 perſons attended, a petition to parliament was produced, agreed to, ſigned by many of the gentlemen preſent, and ordered to lie at that houſe for others to ſign.—At a meeting, March 6. duplicates of the petition were ordered to be placed, under the direction of a committee, in different parts of the town, for the conveniency of the public.—The petition was preſented to the Commons on the 16th of March, and it was ordered to lie on the table.

Like meaſures were taken at Briſtol, Norwich, and Newcaſtle.—The firſt meeting of the gentlemen of Briſtol on this ſubject was held on the 10th of February; the purport of which was, to preſent a petition to parliament, not only to promote a ſpeedy peace with the colonies, but likewiſe to ſhew, that the citizens in general were far from being unanimous in wiſhing to proſecute the preſent war. [44.]

A ſubſcription was ſet on foot among the Quakers at Briſtol for furniſhing their brethren at Philadelphia with proviſions and neceſſaries, which about the middle of February amounted to 3000l. Similar ones were ſet on foot in ſeveral parts of England.

By an advertiſement, dated, London Tavern, Jan. 29. a committee appointed for conducting the buſineſs of a voluntary ſubſcription opened for the expreſs purpoſe of ſupporting the conſtitutional authority of Great Britain over her rebellious colonies in America, after mature conſideration, in what manner the money then ſubſcribed, or which might afterwards be ſubſcribed, ſhould be appropriated beſt to anſwer the good intentions of the ſubſcribers, came to the following reſolutions: That the procuring men for manning his Majeſty's ſhips, as well as recruits for the regiments already in the King's ſervice, would moſt effectually promote the end of the ſubſcription: That therefore the following bounties, over and above the King's bounty and levy money, ſhould be paid by the committee, to ſuch men as ſhould enter into the ſervice at the uſual places of rendezvous for the ſea-ſervice in London, or at the Marine-office for land ſervice, viz. 5l. to every able ſeaman, 2l. 10s. to every ordinary ſeaman, and 1l. 10s. to every landman who ſhould enter for the ſea-ſervice, and 3l. 3s. to every able landman who ſhould enter for the land-ſervice, (being the very bounties given by the King in the reſpective caſes), to be paid when the men ſhould be approved by the proper officers; theſe bounties to be continued till notice to the contrary ſhould be given to the ſecretaries of the admiralty and war reſpectively. Attendance was to be given by the committee, with proper military officers, at the Marine-ſociety's office, on the Monday following, and every following day, (Sunday and Thurſday excepted), from eleven o'clock till two, to inliſt the men, and pay the bounty.

"*London, Feb.* 13. The Aſſociated Livery of the city of London have ſubſcribed 21801. towards raiſing men for ſupporting the conſtitutional authority of G. Britain over her rebellious American colonies.—The bounties to every able ſeaman that now enters at the port of Lon-

don, amount to 121. 2s. viz. 51. by government, 51. by the London-Tavern committee, and 21. 2s. by the Trinity houſe."

To the ſubſcriptions formerly mentioned [46.] for the ſupport of government, we have to add, one at Leeds, Jan. 26. where near 2000l. was ſubſcribed in about two hours; Norfolk county, Jan. 28. which amounted to 4761l. 18s. the firſt day, and increaſed conſiderably afterwards; Bath, Feb. 5. where 600l. was ſubſcribed, by eleven perſons aſſembled; and Exeter chamber, Feb. 12. five guineas to every man that ſhould inliſt as a ſoldier or marine within that city or county for two months.

On the 24th of February a draught of 300 men was made from the out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital, and ordered to different garriſons on the ſea-coaſt.

In the morning of March 16. ſailed from Portſmouth for North America, the Ardent man of war, Rear-Adm. Gambier, with ſeveral armed ſhips, ſtore-ſhips, and tranſports, under her convoy. This fleet did not bring-to at St Helen's, but proceeded to ſea with a fair wind.

On the 17th of March there was the warmeſt preſs for ſeamen all over London and Weſtminſter that has been known ſince the war began. They took ſome of the crews of the ſhips belonging to the Hudſon's-bay company which were juſt on the point of ſailing. Next day preſs-warrants were ſent to every ſea-port in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

At this time the Britiſh navy is ſaid to amount to 152 ſail of the line, built and building, and 192 inferior rates and frigates.

On the 30th of March Adm. Montagu, Governor of Newfoundland, ſet out from London for Portſmouth, to proceed to his government.

"*Portſmouth, March* 25. This morning Adm[s] Keppel, Sir Hugh Palliſer, and Sir Robert Harland, hoiſted their flags on board the Prince George, Trident, and Hector, men of war; which, with Adm. Mann's, on board the Medway, and Sir Tho. Pye's, on board the Princeſs Amelia, make five flags now flying at Spithead."

"*Liverpool, Feb.* 27. The zeal and loyalty of the merchants of Liverpool in favour of government is evinced by the number of veſſels they have already armed and ſtationed for the annoyance of the commerce and communication with the natural enemies of G. Britain. The following are now cruiſing in the American ſeas on the coaſts of Carolina and Virginia: the Sarah Goulbourn, Capt. Holland, of 20 ſix and nine pounders; the Brilliant, Capt. Prieſtman, of 20 ſix and nine pounders; the Belcour, Capt. Moore, of 18 ſix and nine pounders; the Pole, Capt. Maddocks, of 18 ſix and nine pounders; and the Active ſloop, Capt. Powell, of 12 four pounders."

In our laſt [109.] we took notice of Capt. Fotheringham's acquittal, we now inſert the ſentence, viz.

"At a court-martial, aſſembled on board his Majeſty's ſhip Centaur, in Portſmouth harbour, on the third day of March 1778;

PRESENT

Sir THOMAS PYE, Admiral of the White ſquadron of his Majeſty's fleet, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels at Portſmouth and Spithead, PRESIDENT;

CAPTAINS

John Evans,	Richard Edwards,
Andrew Wilkinſon,	John Elliot,
Charles Middleton,	Digby Dent,
Richard King,	Hon. Fred. Maitland,
Jonathan Faulkner,	Hon. J. Lev. Gower,
Mark Robinſon,	George Bowyer.

The Court, purſuant to an order from the Rt Hon. Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, dated the 21ſt day of February laſt paſt, directed to the Preſident, proceeded to enquire into the cauſe of the loſs of his Majeſty's frigate the Fox, which was taken by two American privateers, on the banks of Newfoundland, on the 7th day of June laſt paſt; and to try Capt. Patrick Fotheringham, and the other officers and people belonging to her, for their conduct upon that occaſion: And having completed the enquiry, and maturely and deliberately weighed and conſidered the whole, the Court is of opinion, That Capt. Fotheringham acted in every reſpect as a ſeaman and an officer, in conducting and defending his Majeſty's ſhip Fox under his command; That it appears to this Court, that he did not give her up until ſhe became defenceleſs and unmanageable, and then with the concurrence of the other officers; That any further defence of the Fox would have been ineffectual, and would only have ſacrificed the lives of the people; and, That the reſt of the officers and the ſhip's company did every thing in their power in defending and preſerving the ſhip againſt ſo ſuperior a force: That the

the Court doth therefore adjudge Capt. Fotheringham, his officers, and people, to be honourably acquitted; and they are hereby honourably acquitted accordingly."

Signed by all the Court, as above mentioned; and alſo by

Thomas Binſteed, Deputy Judge Advocate.

The following curious particular came out in the courſe of the above trial. — When the Fox was engaging the two American privateers, the one was on her broadſide, the other on her quarter. In the midſt of the action, one of the privateers men ſaw a wad in a blaze, in the Fox's mizzen-chains; which probably would ſoon have conſumed the ſhip. She then called to her comrade to deſiſt firing; which they both did, and hailed the Fox to inform them, that their mizzen-chains were on fire. As ſoon as that blaze was extinguiſhed, they renewed the fight till the Fox ſtruck.

The gunner's mate of the Fox, who, after the capture of that ſhip, inliſted with the Americans, and made Capt. Manley of the Hancock fight again after he had ſtruck [39. 421.], was hung up at the yard-arm of the Rainbow, in the port of Halifax, purſuant to the ſentence of a court-martial.

The Americans do not ſeem behindhand with us in point of military diſcipline: for on the arrival of the Boſton frigate at Boſton, Capt. Macneil was brought to trial by a court-martial for running away from a ſhip of inferior force; for which he was broke, and diſgraced. The command of the frigate was beſtowed on a Lieut. Cole.

A writer in the London papers of Feb. 18. ſays, "As the ruinous ſtate of this country has been frequently ſaid to be exaggerated, I beg the public to advert to the following ſtate of the ſtocks ſince the commencement of this calamitous war, and then decide what is fact, and what is declamation.

Bank Stock	October 1775	143	1 half
3 per cent. conſol.	—— 1775	89	5 8ths
Bank Stock	October 1776	137	
3 per cent. conſol.	—— 1776	82	1 8th
Bank Stock this preſent month		117	1 half
3 per cent. conſol. a few days ago		69	7 8ths

A free pardon, under the King's ſign-manual, was ſent to Newgate, March 15. for Ebenezer Smith Platt, who had been a priſoner in that gaol more than a twelvemonth, on a charge of high treaſon, alledged to have been committed by him at Savannah, in the province of Georgia. Platt's caſe was agitated at the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old Bailey, and in the court of King's-bench, upon his application to be admitted to bail many months ago [39. 268.]; on each application the priſoner was oppoſed by the Attorney-General. His delivery now therefore is rather to be aſcribed to the circumſtances of the times than to any other cauſe.

"*London, Feb.* 21. Yeſterday was heard before Sir George Hay, LL. D. in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, Doctor's Commons, a cauſe, the Earl of Briſtol againſt Eliſabeth Chudleigh, late Ducheſs of Kingſton, but now, by the late verdict of the Houſe of Peers [38. 200.], Counteſs of Briſtol, to prove his marriage with the ſaid Eliſabeth; which proof was fully eſtabliſhed in the ſame manner as before the Lords; and the court accordingly gave it as their opinion, that the marriage was ſtrictly legal. This cauſe was brought againſt the Counteſs by the Earl, as an introduction to a divorce which he means to ſue out againſt her on the ſcore of adultery; and which he could not do prior to his proving his marriage with her, as ſhe was, before the hearing of yeſterday, recogniſed in the Eccleſiaſtical Court as the wife of the late Duke of Kingſton, and not of the Earl of Briſtol.

At Oxford aſſizes, Robert Hitchcock, a farmer of conſiderable property, at Coombe, near Woodſtock, was tried for the wilful murder of his own father. The witneſſes poſitively ſwore, that at different times, in the courſe of a few hours, they ſaw the priſoner beat, bruiſe, and kick his aged father, upon the road in his way from Bloxham to Coombe, in a moſt ſhocking and inhuman manner; that the poor old man earneſtly begged that his ſon would ſuffer him to die upon the ground where he then lay, as he was ſure he muſt ſoon expire from the bruiſes he had already received at his hands; notwithſtanding which, he was dragged home, where he languiſhed till next morning, and then died. The jury without the leaſt heſitation, brought in their verdict Guilty. On which he was ſentenced; and he was executed on the 10th of March, on the Caſtle-green, Oxford. At the tree he confeſſed the fact, but did not ſeem much concerned. His body was given to the ſurgeons.

MAR-

MARRIAGES.

March 5. At London, Sir John Skynner, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in England, to Miſs Burn of Spring Gardens.

5. At London, Sir Thomas Beauchamp Proctor, of Langley in Norfolk, Bt, to the ſecond daughter of Robert Palmer, Eſq; of Great Ruſſel ſtreet, Bloomſbury.

14. At Edinburgh, Capt. Charles Moray, of the 13th dragoons, to Miſs Stirling, eldeſt daughter of Sir William Stirling of Ardoch, Bt.

BIRTHS.

March 2. At Hanover, the Princeſs of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, of a daughter.

6. Lady Grant of Grant, of a ſon.

13. At London, the Ducheſs of Portland, of a daughter.

29. At London, the Counteſs of Carliſle, of a daughter.

DEATHS.

Jan. 31. 1777. At Fort Marlborough, Mr Charles Burnett, ſon of the late James Burnett of Barns, Eſq;

March 1. 1778. At London, Sir Richard Aſton, Kt, one of the Juſtices of the court of King's-bench.

1. At her houſe near London, the Counteſs-dowager of Wemyſs.

2. John Lloyd, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

2. At Edinburgh, Richard Norris, Eſq;

2. At Alford, in the 59th year of his age, and 32d of his miniſtry, Mr Alexander Johnſton, miniſter of that pariſh.

5. At Sharſted in England, the Dowager Lady Abergavenny, aged 90.

5. At London, Dr Michael Arne, compoſer of the admired operas of Artaxerxes, &c.

7. At Blebo in Fifeſhire, Mrs Bethune of Blebo.

15. At Edinburgh, John Niſbet of Eaſtbank, Eſq;

19. At Thorntoun, Airſhire, Archibald Cuningham, Eſq; of Caddell.

22. At Carſhalton in Surry, Charles Henry Collins, Eſq; Major of the Tower of London.

23. At Trottiſcliffe, in the county of Kent, Mr Walter Gooding, aged 90. By his will he deſired to be carried to the grave by ſix men in leather-jackets; and that the coffin may be ſet down at a place named, for the bearers to drink a bowl of punch upon it; alſo ordered a punch-bowl and glaſſes, and a dog and gun, to be painted thereon.

24. At London, in the 93d year of his age, Hugh Galfoot, Eſq; who ſailed round the world with the late Lord Anſon.

26. At Lymington, Mrs Sparraw, aged 100.

27. At London, Lt-Gen. Harvey, colonel of the 6th or Inniſkilling regiment of dragoons, governor of Portſmouth, and member for Harwich.

29. At Edinburgh, Mr Henry Scrymgeor, writer to the ſignet.

At Napier's hall, in the neighbourhood of Glaſgow, William Noble, a collier, aged above 100 years. He lately recovered his ſight, and got a new ſet of teeth and nails, and retained his ſenſes to the laſt, but had been bedrid for ſeveral years.

In the alms-houſe in Stafford, a poor woman, aged 114.

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

The King has been pleaſed,

March 7. to preſent Mr George Knowles to the church and pariſh of Birſe, in the preſbytery of Kincardine O'Neil, and county of Aberdeen, now vacant by the death of Mr Alexander Garden, late miniſter there.

— 13 to confer the honour of Knighthood on James Napier, Eſq; ſuperintendent-general of all the hoſpitals for the forces in North America.

"*Dublin Caſtle, March* 13. The Earl of Shannon, Muſtermaſter-General of this kingdom, hath appointed Mr Matthew Handcock to be his Lordſhip's Deputy; and the Lord Lieutenant hath been pleaſed to approve thereof."

War-office, March 10.

2d troop of horſe grenadier-guards: Lieut. and Capt. Charles Burton is appointed to be Major, vice Philip Ainſlie; Guidon and Capt. William Belford to be Lieutenant and Captain, vice Charles Burton; and Sub-Lieut. Andrew Corbett to be Guidon and Captain, vice William Belford.

29th reg. of foot: Lieut. James Batterſby to be Captain, vice Charles Viſcount Peterſham.

Capt. Thomas Northey, of the Invalids at Guernſey, to be Captain of an Independent Company of Invalids at Berwick, vice Knox.

Capt. William Murray, of the Invalids in North Britain, to be Captain of an Independent Company of Invalids at Guernſey, vice Thomas Northey.

Capt. James Eliott, Town-Major of Berwick, to be Captain of an Independent Company of Invalids in North Britain, vice William Murray.

Robert Home, Clerk, to be Chaplain to the garriſon of Edinburgh caſtle, vice William Home.

Capt. John Small, late of the 21ſt reg. of foot, to be Major in the Army.

James Napier, Eſq; to be Superintendent-General of all the hoſpitals for the Forces in North America.

War-office, March 24.

48th reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieut. Henry Groves to be Captain, vice Joſeph French; and

and Lieut. Samuel M'Connell to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Henry Groves.

Lieut-Gen' John Duke of Argyll,
John Fitz William,
William A'Court Aſhe,
Jeffery Lord Amherſt,
To be Generals in the Army.

Col. Richard Preſcott,
To be Major-General in the Army.

Maj' Joſeph Stopford, of the 7th foot,
Stephen Kemble, of the 60th foot,
To be Lieutenant-Colonels in the Army.

War-office, March 28.

72d reg. of foot, (or Royal Manchester Volunteers.)

Colonel: Lt-Col. Charles Mawhood, of 17th reg. of foot;

Lieutenant-Colonel: Maj. George Gledſtanes, of 58th reg. of foot;

Major: Capt. Chriſtopher Horsfall, of 23d reg. of foot;

Captains: Roger Aytoun, Eſq; late a Lieutenant in the 11th dragoons; Lieut. John Wilſon, of 23d foot; Lieut. William Clowes, of 6th dragoons; Lieut Peter Delhoſte, of 2d foot; Lieut. Ibbetſon Hamer, of 7th foot; Sec.-Lieut. William Billinge, of the Artillery; and Corn. John Nangreave, of 4th dragoons.

Captain-Lieutenant: Corn. Robert Tipping, of 10th dragoons.

Lieutenants: Lieut. Robert Home, of late 85th foot; Lieut. Auguſtus Alt, of late 80th foot; Lieut. George Jeffreyſon, of late 95th foot; Lieut. Thomas Wilſon, of late 94th foot; Lieut. Arthur Harris, of late 105th foot; Lieut. Joſias Tayler, of late 78th foot; Lieut. William Jones, of late 112th foot; Lieut. John Tottenham, of late 72d foot; Lieut. George Parr, from halfpay 15th foot; Lieut. Charlton Parr, of late 107th foot; Lieut. William Mercer, of 19th foot; Lieut. George Græme, from the Dutch ſervice; Enſ. Thomas Galpine, of 6th foot; Enſ. Evan Jones, of late 98th foot; Enſ. Richard Broome, of 38th foot; Enſ. Henry Upton, of 6th foot; Enſ. Thomas Taylor, of 63d foot; Enſ. Richard Ward Offley, of 48th foot; Ferne Andrews, late a Lieutenant in 2d dragoon-guards; Cadet William Gordon; and Serj.-Maj. William Reeves, of 1ſt foot-guards.

Enſigns: Joſeph Budworth, Gent.; Edward Ridgeway, Gent.; John Hill, Gent.; John Allen, Gent.; John Rollo, Gent.; John Barſtow Hewan, Gent.; John Drinkwater, Gent.; and Thomas Ranicar, Gent.

Chaplain: Thomas Foxley, Clerk.

Adjutant: Serj. Maj. William Reeves, of 1ſt foot-guards.

Quartermaſter: John Allen, Gent.

Surgeon: Surgeon Joſeph Sutton.

Lt-Col. James Stewart, of 5th dragoons, to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army. His commiſſion dated 29th Auguſt 1777.

War-office, March 31.

21ſt reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieut. Michael Kirkman to be Captain, vice James Bethune; and Firſt Lieut. William Featherſtone to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Michael Kirkman.

24th reg. of foot: Lieut. Richard Beecroft to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Thomas Scott; and Maj. Alexander Earl of Balcarras, from the 53d reg. to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Simon Fraſer.

53d reg. of foot: Capt. William Hughes to be Major, vice Alexander Earl of Balcarras; Capt.-Lieut. Richard Davies to be Captain, vice William Hughes; Lieut. Simeon Lord to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Richard Davies; and Capt.-Lieut. Thomas Scott, from 24th reg to be Captain, vice John Wright.

Commiſſions ſigned by his Majeſty for the army in Ireland.

One dated Dec. 12. 1777. *viz.*

4th reg. of horſe: Philip Ainſlie, Eſq; (now Sir Philip Ainſlie) to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Edward Smith, promoted.

One dated Jan. 14. *viz.*

Lorenzo Moor, Eſq; late Major of the 2d regiment of horſe, to be Captain of the Company of foot-guards, armed with battle-axes in Ireland, in the room of Col. Gore, who retires.

Five dated Jan. 26. *viz.*

36th reg. of foot: Allan Campbell, Eſq; to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Calcraft; Sir Edward J. Bannerman, Bart. to be Major, vice Campbell; Capt.-Lieut. Mar. Parſons Stirling to be Captain, vice Bannerman; and Lieut. Thomas Prickett to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Stirling.

Nicholas Lyſaght, Eſq; to be Governor of the city of Cork, in the room of John Wynne, Eſq; deceaſed.

One dated Feb. 2. *viz.*

John Leland, Eſq; to be Lieutenant-Governor of the city of Cork, in the room of William Tonſon, Eſq; reſigned.

Three dated Feb. 5. *viz.*

32d foot: Capt.-Lieut. John Gray to be Captain, vice Alexander Turnbull, who retires; and Lieut. Leeds Booth to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Gray.

67th foot: Lieut. John Knox, of the 18th dragoons, to be Captain, vice Deſpard, Croaſdale; by purchaſe.

One dated Feb. 27. *viz.*

Sir Guy Carleton, K. B. to be Governor of Charlemont in Ireland, in the room of James Giſborne, Eſq; deceaſed.

One dated March 10. *viz.*

18th dragoons: Lieut. Hamilton Croſton to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Laurence Chaloner, who retires.

From

From a correſpondent.

New Regiments raiſed in the end of the year 1777, and beginning of the 1778; each regiment conſiſting of one company of grenadiers, one company of light infantry, and eight battalion-companies of one hundred men each.

72d, or Royal Mancheſter Volunteers.
Col. Charles Mawhood
Lt-Col. George Gledſtanes
Maj. Chriſtopher Horsfall

73d, Highlanders.
Col. Hon. William Gordon
Lt-Col. Hon. John Gordon
Maj^{rs} Alex. Roſs
John Macdonald

Royal Liverpool Volunteers.
Col. Tho. Caleraft
Lt-Col. Cha. Croſbie
Maj. Hon. T. Stanley

Athol Highlanders.
Col. James Murray
Lt-Col.
Maj^{rs} Hew Dalrymple
Sir Robert Stewart

Royal Edinburgh Volunteers.
Col. Sir Wm Erſkine
Lt-Col. Tho. Dundas
Maj^{rs} James Gordon
Sir James Murray

Royal Glaſgow Volunteers.
Col. Hon. Alex. Leſlie
Lt-Col. A. Fotheringham Ogilvie
Maj^{rs} Hon. M. Ramſay
John White

Highlanders.
Col. John Lord Macleod
Lt-Col. Alex. Duff
Maj^{rs} Hon. Geo. Mackenzie
John Elphinſtone

Regiment of Arran.
Col. Francis Maclean
Lt-Col. John Gunning
Maj^{rs} James Henry Craig
Alex. Robertſon.

Argyleſhire Highlanders.
Lt-Col. Com. John Campbell
Maj^{rs} Alex. Campbell
John Campbell

Highlanders.
Lt-Col. Com. John Macdonell
Maj^{rs} Alex. Donaldſon
John Lord Berriedale

Highlanders.
Lt-Col. Com. K. Earl of Seaforth
Maj^{rs}

Prices of grain at Haddington, April 17. 1778.

	Beſt.	*Second.*	*Third.*
Wheat,	22s. 0d.	21s. 0d.	19s. 6d.
Bear,	15s. 0d.	14s. 6d.	13s. 4d.
Oats,	12s. 3d.	11s. 8d.	10s. 6d.
Peaſe,	10s. 0d.	9s. 6d.	8s. 10d.

Edinburgh, Mar. 17. 1778. Oat-meal, 10d. Bear-meal, 7d. Peaſe-meal, 7d.

Burials in the Grayfriars church-yard, Edinburgh, in March 1778.

Males 30
Females 32
} 62. Decreaſed 12.

Age.	N°	Diseases.	N°
Under	2 15	Aged ——	7
Between 2 & 5	10	Bowelhive ——	2
5 & 10	4	By a fall ——	1
10 & 20	3	Conſumption ——	20
20 & 30	4	Chincough ——	1
30 & 40	3	Cramp in the ſtomach	1
40 & 50	6	Fever ——	16
50 & 60	7	Meaſles ——	6
60 & 70	5	Smallpox ——	2
70 & 80	4	Stillborn ——	2
80 & 90	1	Teething ——	4
90 & 100	0		

March 13. 1778.

PRICES of STOCKS.
Bank Stock, ſhut 113, a 112 3 4ths op.
India ditto, 137 1 half, a 137 op.
South-Sea ditto, 73
Ditto Old Ann. 63 3 8ths, a 1 8th, a 1 4th
Ditto New Ann. —
3 per cent. Bank red. ſhut
3 per cent. Conſ. 64 1 4th, a 63 1 4th, a 64
Ditto 1726, —
Ditto 1751, —
Ditto India Ann. ſhut
3 and a half per cent. 1758, 65 1 8th, a 64 1 half
4 per cent. Conſ. 1762, ſhut
4 per cent. 1777, ſhut
India bonds, 1s. a 5s. a 4s. diſc.
Navy and Vict. Bills, 6 1 4th, diſc.
Long Annuities, —
Short ditto, ſhut
Scrip, 63 3 4ths, a 7 8ths

March 28. 1778.

ſhut
ſhut
—
ſhut
59 1 half
ſhut
61 1 8th, a 60 1 half
60
—
ſhut
62 1 4th
ſhut
ſhut
7s. a 8s. diſc.
8 3 8ths, a 1 half diſc.
18 1 4th, a 3 8ths
ſhut
61 1 4th, a 3 8ths